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ART. I.—PIERCING THE AMRAN.

NOTWITHSTANDING the opposition which Lord Beaconsfield's scheme for the creation of a "scientific frontier" encountered at the hands of the Liberals, subsequent events on the political chess-board—notably the challenge to British prestige implied in the seizure by the Russians of Panjdeh—have happily opened the eyes of those who scornfully derided, as "Russophobia," the warnings of the experienced statesmen who proclaimed that, with a weak frontier, the Empire must always remain seriously menaced by the Russian advance. It is now admitted by both political parties that India, in order to maintain peace within her borders, must be in a position not only to close her gates, if need be, against foreign aggression, but to fight her defensive battles with those gates at her back.

At what points these barriers should be erected, and how many of them will be found necessary before the frontier can fairly be pronounced impregnable from a military point of view, are questions which must be left to experts to decide. Broadly speaking, the possible avenues of approach are three in number: through Kashmir on the north; through Afghanistan on the north-west; and through Persia on the west. Of these three, the most probable line of attack is undoubtedly the second. The immense altitude of the Kashmir passes keeps them closed with snow for the greater portion of the year, and an invasion from that quarter would be feasible only during the brief summer months, the advent of winter promptly preventing all communication with the rear, and effectually cutting

off all possibility of retreat should the invading army meet with reverses. Again, the Persian route pre-supposes a prior subjugation of that Power by Russia, or at least a political understanding between the two Powers hostile to India,—a condition of things which would take time to evolve ; time during which our more Southern line of defence could be reinforced, or a countermarch by our troops effected.

Hence the weakest link in the chain (which is therefore also the strongest) is represented by a line drawn roughly from Peshawur through Dera-Ismail-Khan, on the Indus, to the old frontier station of Jacobabad in Sind, a distance of 500 miles. A glance at the map will show that this old frontier, followed roughly, the course of the Indus from north to south : the river behind it, and, facing it, the Suleiman range of mountains. The northern section, from Peshawur to Dera-Ismail-Khan, remains geographically unchanged, but has been vastly strengthened by improved means of communication, the Sind-Sagar Railway having been completed from Multan along the left bank of the Indus to Mianwalli, whence a line is being projected almost due north, having its termini at Kushalghar and Rawal Pindi. The southern section of our boundary line, running from Dera-Ismail-Khan to Jacobabad, distant 350 miles, has been abandoned, and now forms the base of an almost equilateral triangle of country with the outpost of Chaman, to the west, as its apex. The country thus enclosed—the home of Murris, Bugtis and other tribes formerly independent—is, now that it has come under British rule, almost as peaceful and orderly as any province in India. To protect this new frontier line, a railway has been run from Jacobabad to Chaman, along the south-western arm of the triangle, and surveys for a line along the north western arm, starting from Bostan, running along the Zhob Valley and emerging somewhere about the Gomul Pass, north of Dera-Ismail-Khan, are now being made. Whether this line of railway, when made, will join the Sind-Sagar system at Mianwalli, by a bridge over the Indus at or near Isa-Khel, or whether it will be projected in a northerly direction to Peshawar, or whether, again, both schemes will, in course of time, be carried out, the future must decide.

Leaving speculation, however interesting, aside for the present, we will confine ourselves to a study of what has been done since the war, and of what is now being done in British Beluchistan.

As the railway is unquestionably the key to the position politically, it deserves front rank in any *résumé* dealing with recent events.

The history of the frontier railway, which has its junction with the Indian system at Ruk, near Sukkur, on the Indus

Valley (now incorporated with the North-Western) Railway, dates from the year 1879. During the first phase of our operations against Shere Ali, this was the detraining point for our troops, whence began their weary march across the waterless desert to Sibi, and up the gloomy Bolan Pass to Quetta. But so serious was the loss in time and pack-animals during this first expedition, that, on the news of the assassination of Sir Louis Cavagnari reaching the Government of India, the order was at once given to start the construction of the railway, in order to facilitate the advance of a British column by the Quetta route from the south upon Kandahar. From Ruk to Sibi, at the foot of the Bolan, the country presented no physical difficulties. The "Put," or desert, crossed is absolutely flat, and the metals were laid along the surface at an average rate of nearly a mile a day. But if no material obstructions faced the Engineers, they had, nevertheless, a hard battle to fight against time, and the rapidity with which materials were collected and forwarded, the difficulties under which labour was imported, and the still greater straits under which food supplies were pushed forward for the labourers over this arid track, will immortalise this feat in engineering in the annals of railway making.

Sibi once reached, the real struggle with nature began. It now became necessary to decide by what route the mountains should be pierced and the rails laid to Quetta. Two alternatives presented themselves—the shorter, but more difficult Bolan Pass, and the more circuitous, but easier, Hurnai line. The latter was chosen and work commenced at once, to be suspended by the Liberal Government in 1881, in view of reversing the policy of their predecessors, and to be again recommended by them in 1883. Two years were thus lost, which delay notwithstanding, the line was linked through to Quetta and opened to passenger traffic in 1887. In the meantime [1885] the Bolan line, before rejected, was suddenly determined upon when the news of the seizure of Pandjeh vibrated through India, and, under difficulties even greater than those met with on the Hurnai route, and at enormous expense, the line was also carried into Quetta in the spring of 1887. This much accomplished, the danger of an approach through the Bolan Pass was averted. But more remained to be done. There was still the Khojak Pass, through the Amran, which commands Quetta, and the authorities wisely concluded that nothing short of railway communication with the outpost of Chaman, on the Kandahar side of the great range, would render our position secure. The railway has, therefore, been carried to Killa Abdulla, at the foot of the Khojak, eight miles beyond which a tunnel right through the range and normal

to its axis—now under construction—will land the locomotive on the Kandahar plain.

Owing to the abruptness of the acclivities and the tortuous alignment on the Hurnai and Bolan loops, these lines are computed to possess only one half the carrying capacity of the railroad below Sibi. It is obvious that, on gradients ruled by a rise of 1 foot in 45, and on curves described with a radius of 600 feet, the haulage power of an engine adapted to an ordinarily level and straight road is sensibly affected. The two lines will not, therefore, be found in excess of requirements in carrying forward the traffic arriving over the level line to Sibi, and the advantage of having two alternative routes in case of pressure is beyond question. From Bostan, some miles north of Quetta, where the two lines converge, to Gulistan—some 40 miles further north still—the line runs over an elevated plateau where a single track suffices. Thence to the Chaman terminus the line will again be doubled, gradients of 1 in 40 and curves of 800 feet radius having again to be surmounted. By this arrangement it is confidently expected that all risk of congestion of traffic at any spot between Karachi and the frontier, under the pressure of railing forward troops and stores during a war in Afghanistan, will be avoided.

To those accustomed to railway travelling in the plains of India, the mere mention of a gradient of 1 in 40 does not perhaps convey much idea of the boldness of the engineering which has successfully conducted the rails over these mountains. In order to realise what the engineers had to face, one must travel over the line, and, gazing out of the window, try to imagine what would be his feelings if he were asked to align even a goat-track over these rugged heights. Awful are the majesty and sullenness and deep quiet of these rocky, towering gorges. On all sides are sterility and desolation. 'Tis as a nightmare petrified into stone. The heights are fretted into a never ending variety of shapes through aqueous denudation; not a tree is to be seen, and the only signs of life met with are an occasional *Pathan* and his laden donkeys, wending their way down the hill-tracks, or perchance a pair of jackals scurrying away at the sight and sound of the puffing engine. The railway winds up the gorge, now crossing the Nari river on substantial iron girders, now cutting deep through a cliff, now hugging a towering mountain side, with a sheer drop below. The most difficult feature is met with at a spot some 5,000 feet above sea-level, known as the Chappar Rift, where a vast mountain, cleft from top to bottom by two perpendicular fissures, is crossed, first by a single lattice girder, which, from the floor of the valley, looks like the web of a spider, and secondly by girders supported by stone masonry piers, of

immense height, founded on the slope of the cleavage. The drop from the level of the rails to the bed of this gloomy gorge is over five hundred feet, and when it is added that a tunnel abuts immediately at each end of the viaduct, some idea of the difficulties with which the engineer had to contend, may be formed. To Mr. G. P. Rose, C.E. (now Engineer-in-Chief of the Khojak Works, is due the honour of having successfully overcome this prominent physical obstruction.

This is on the Hurnai section. The Bolan, though really steeper, is not characterised by such boldness of alignment. The Pass for sixty miles is narrow, being a defile through which the river, from which it is named, runs, and the railroad is constructed partly in this bed and partly on the side slope of the gorge, the windings of which it follows as closely as the curvature necessary for a railroad permits. This line suffers severely from floods every year during July and August, when the Bolan river becomes swollen by the numerous hill torrents which fall into it. But the rapid declivity of the Bolan bed insures a commensurately rapid subsidence of the spates when they do come, and damage to the line can be thus generally repaired in the course of a few days. As there is no great pressure of traffic at present, it is found more economical to close the line altogether for three months of the year and to re-open it after the monsoon is passed. A portion of this line was, during its construction, laid to the metre-gauge, and the *Abt* system was also essayed in order to push through more rapidly, a gradient of 1 in 25 having been thus overcome; but the engineers have since, at their leisure, found an alignment adapted to the broad-gauge throughout. The *Abt* system [the principle feature of which is a cogwheel on the engine, working on a fixed rack, or centre rail] did not prove a success, although a German Engineer was specially engaged to superintend its installation and working. Ordinary engines of great hauling power, but not built for high speed, are said to do the work more economically.

After climbing steadily for sixty miles to a height of 5,800 feet, the line runs for 25 miles over the comparatively level table-land which separates Kotul from Quetta, and enters that city from the south-west at an elevation of 5,600 feet. As we have seen above, a fairly level run then takes us to Gulistan, whence we rise and fall, until Killa-Abdulla is reached. This old Baluchi fort stands about 5,400 feet above sea level, and is the present terminus of the open line. Beyond this, the railway, under the title of the "Chaman Extension," is under construction. By means of high embankments and deep cuttings, the line now rises to a height of 6,383 feet where it enters the great tunnel. Climbing the gentle grade of 1 in 1,000 for

some 6,000 feet, the summit, of 6,389, is passed about midway in the tunnel, when the line begins to fall rapidly at 1 in 40, emerging on the western side of the range at 6,229 feet, and continuing to fall until, about 17 miles off, it reaches Chaman, the level of which is 4,300 feet above the sea. The flight of the crow would reduce these seventeen miles to nine, but the railroad has to take its own time in climbing down, a detour to the south being made to find a practicable gradient. It will thus be seen that the tunnel is approximately 12,000 feet long—as a matter of fact, it is 12,800 feet or nearly 2½ miles. As compared with the Mont Cenis, and other great European tunnels, this length is not prodigious; but when the locality is taken into consideration, when it is remembered that the plant, stores, machinery and labour have all been imported; that the country through which it passes has produced absolutely nothing, excepting clay to make bricks with, that two years to a day after the first sod was turned, daylight was through, and that this was accomplished without any hitch or accident in the working, the Government of India may fairly be congratulated on the staff of engineers in whom it placed this great trust. Mr. F. L. O'Callaghan, C.E. (Chief Engineer, P. W. D.) planned the arrangements and began the work; and, now that he has been called upon to fill the still higher post of Consulting Engineer to the Government, his mantle has fallen on the shoulders of his trusty lieutenant, Mr. Rose, who has been in practical charge of the work from the beginning, and who now, as Engineer-in-Chief, with an able selected staff under him, bids fair before very long to bring it to a happy termination.

To those who might thoughtlessly assume that the construction of a tunnel of this magnitude is to be accomplished by the easy expedient of introducing a few navvies, pick in hand, at each end, with *carte-blanche* to burrow away until the two parties should haply meet somewhere midway, it may be interesting to read an account giving some idea of what tunnel-making is like. With apologies to the profession, therefore, for any technical inaccuracies which may have crept into these notes, they are given as the result of a recent visit to the Khojak, attended, it is to be feared, by a heavy tax on the courtesy of the obliging Engineers, in the shape of much questioning which must have appeared unto them commonplace enough, though they were one and all much too kind to say so.

On the 17th of April, 1888, then, the great mountain was attacked in four places. At the east and at the west mouths of the proposed subterranean way, horizontally and vertically, in the shape of two shafts sunk from the surface to the tunnel level, each shaft admitting—it will be understood—two more

faces to work on, or six faces in all. The shafts, the positions of which were determined on by a dip in the surface section, are each about 300 feet in depth; and here proper hoisting machinery, as used in English mines, was erected, the cages carrying the trollies on which the "muck" out of the tunnel is brought to the surface, being let down by a strong steel rope, running over a huge drum worked by steam power. The first excavations, or "headings," as they are called, projected from these six points, are of sufficient width and height only to admit of two trollies, side by side, being pushed forward, rails being laid on which the trucks run further and further into the bowels of the earth as the borings progress. The hole thus made has a sectional area about eight by six feet, a very tight place to work in. As the shafts passed through soil too soft to be trusted to stand vertically, they had to be timbered from top to bottom,—an operation demanding the skill of experienced miners. And as the headings throughout called for the same treatment, to prevent the superincumbent mass from burying the workmen alive, a colony of about 50 English pitmen, thoroughly conversant with this class of works, was early established on the Amran range. In addition to thus affording auxiliary outlets for the stuff from the tunnel, these shafts have proved of great help in ventilating the workings, though, owing to the great length of the tunnel, they, by no means, suffice for this purpose. Air, compressed at the surface by machinery, is therefore pumped through pipes and distributed below, and it answers the double purpose of ventilation and affording power for driving the rock-drilling machines. For a great portion of its length, the boring passes through rock too hard to yield to the navvy's pick, and in this formation holes are drilled to receive the dynamite charges, the explosion of which breaks up the rock and admits of its being carried off in the trollies. With two atmospheric drills at work on each face, one hundred and twenty feet of lineal heading was worked out in the week of best progress. The machines themselves are rolled up to their work on lines of rail, so as to be readily removable when they have prepared the face for the blasting. The stuff which comes out of the tunnel on the trucks has been used partly to make up the approaching embankments, the rest being tipped down the hill side to waste, or as the Engineers term it, being "spoiled." As air had to be artificially introduced for the workmen to breathe, so light was also artificially provided for the men to see by. A steam engine, working a dynamo at the surface, kept the electric light shining in the workings, thus very materially facilitating the subterranean operations which, failing this, would have had to depend on the doubtful light provided by the old fashioned miners' dips.

For two years uninterruptedly, with one exception, the work was kept going at the six faces, till, at length, on April 17th of the present year, the Engineers had the satisfaction of knowing that the heart of the mountain was penetrated and the back of the work thus broken.

The exceptional interruption referred to was due to water. It has already been mentioned that from the summit the formation of the tunnel falls on either side. Now, it is obvious that, so long as the borings progressed up hill, whatever water was met found its way out of the tunnel mouths by gravitation; whereas when working down, a falling grade from the intermediate vertical shafts, whatever water accumulated could be removed by pumping only. It was on one of these faces that the workmen were, in spite of steam pumps vigorously applied, drowned out. For three months the work on this face was entirely stopped, and so great was the accumulation of water after the spring was tapped, that the Engineers had an anxious time of it when drilling out the last few yards on the dry face opposite to the water. Happily the rock at this point was hard and held to the last, but, in anticipation of this wall suddenly bursting and letting this huge volume of water through on to the miners—a mishap which would have certainly resulted in the drowning of many—great anxiety must have been felt by those responsible. When the time came to effect the junction, to the relief of all the wall stood firm, and in the course of four days, through a small hole drilled through the screen, the whole of the imprisoned water was safely discharged.

This water, which during this critical period seriously threatened to master the Engineers, has now been transformed into an obedient and invaluable servant. Gathered into pipes, it no longer spills wantonly over the tunnel, but is discharged at its mouth in a constant and reliable stream. It is of good quality, and will be made use of for the locomotives permanently running over this portion of the line.

The heading once through, and the water reduced to obedience, the serious business of enlarging the tunnel throughout, to its ultimate cross section, began in earnest. This section is represented by a circle of 14 feet radius, the floor of the tunnel being a chord 5 feet 6 inches below the centre of the circle and crossing it horizontally. The tunnel is, therefore, 28 feet wide by 19 feet 6 inches high, taking the extreme dimensions, which gives room for two lines of rail. The progress made with this part of the work depends, in a great measure, on the kind of rock met with. Roughly speaking, it may be said that the borings pass through clay slate at the eastern end, running into half formed shale and clay at the Chaman end.

The soft stuff, although easier to excavate, gives the most trouble, as heavy timbering is necessary to prevent a collapse. The roof throughout is considered too treacherous to trust, and is being lined with brick-work or stone masonry, the sides, however, where the dip of the rock is in the Engineer's favour, are left unlined : this is the case for about a quarter of the way through. This widening out is carried on in short sections, termed technically "break-ups." The work is now being carried out at fifteen "break-ups," each 18 feet in length, and having two faces. When the miners have driven an 18 feet length to full section, which operation takes about 7 days, the bricklayers are put in, and they build in the arching. The sides are left to the last. The arching now proceeds at the rate of 700 feet per month. About 8,500 feet, or two-thirds of the whole tunnel, is arched to date. But it is obvious that, as each "break-up" has two working faces, when two "break-ups" meet, their four faces are again reduced to two, so that the rate of progress tends to diminish as the different parties join hands. July 1891 is given as the probable date of completion throughout. The masonry is all being laid in Portland cement imported from England. As this mortar is what Engineers call hydraulic, that is to say, water-tight, it is expected that the tunnel will be perfectly dry when completed, only such water as may be required for use outside being tapped and conveyed in pipes. A handsome stone entry to the tunnel has been designed and is now being constructed at either mouth.

It has been said that the whole of the materials necessary to the construction of this important extension have had to be imported. The stone for the masonry, and the clay of which the bricks are made, are obtained locally ; but the cement with which they are joined together crosses the sea from England, and the fuel which burns the bricks and drives the engines, hails from Scotch and Welsh coal pits. The enormous mass of timber used in propping the headings, consists partly of deodar from the Himalayas and partly of teak from Burmah. The girders spanning the chasms and hill torrents are, of course, of English manufacture, and the machinery and plant, from the complex electric light engines down to the commonest piece of rope on the works, is English, or, at least, European. The only exception is in the case of fuel, the supply of English coal having been supplemented by country coal from the Khost collieries, the cheap and plentiful yield from which is due to the exertions of Mr. David Morris, formerly Engineer in charge of these works, and now Port Engineer of Karachi Harbour. Crude oil from Khattan is also used as fuel for the furnaces of the atmospheric engines. But as Khost

and Khattan are also a vast distance from Killa Abdulla, this material can scarcely be said to be locally produced.

It is evident that a very large number of labourers must find employment on such a work. In addition to the fifty English miners who are engaged on the more dangerous work of timbering, about four thousand natives—Pathans, Punjabis, Arabs, Kashmiris, Mekranis, and one solitary Zanzibari—answer daily to the muster roll. The work never ceases, day or night, save for about eight hours once a week, to allow the Engineers to check lines and levels within the tunnel in peace, failing which stoppage, the noise below, of the drilling machines, of the shouting coolies, and of the rumbling trucks, would be too great to admit of any such delicate operations being carried on.

The labourers are paid—and well paid—weekly; and, considering that no great temptations to spend their earnings offer, many of them must be hoarding up little piles of wealth. The English miners are under covenant with the Secretary of State: they are mostly grass widowers, and are a very quiet, hard working and sober lot. Perhaps the absence of temptation is answerable for this. Their chief amusement is riding: one and all posses Kandahari nags, and occasionally races are organized. They are not quite up to steeplechases, but riding on the flat [if a tearing gallop up a hillroad at an angle of 45 degrees with the horizon deserves the name], with much giving and taking of odds, they delight in. To watch the seats of some of these equestrians is, indeed, to take a lesson in equitation!

The men are comfortably housed, and the commissariat arrangements are such as to enable all to live well. A bazar has been established at Shelabagh, on the east side of the hill, where the butcher, the baker and even the barber are to be found plying their trade. The natives are huddled in a sheltered valley north of the tunnel, where quite a busy village has sprung up, and where the gloomy silence, unbroken for ages, save by the hootings of night-owls, has given place to the roar of a bartering crowd by day, and the reverberating tom-tom's measured beat by night.

Shelabagh, which, being interpreted, means "the valley of the garden," a name it owes to one solitary and wretched wild vine, blooming on its hill side, is the Engineers' head quarters. Tastefully designed small villas of grey stone, with high-pitched roofs—curtained windows, displaying clusters of flower-pots on the window sills, and a cottage garden ten feet all round—a front door gazing boldly over the mountains, unhampered by the conventional Indian verandah—a front door with a knocker, if you please,—and the interior a perfect poem of

coziness—such is the description to which at least one of these [alas ! ephemeral] mountain châlets answers. Needless to add, perhaps, that this embellishment is the work of a lady's hand. The bungalows stand ensconced in a valley 6,400 feet in height, screened from the cruel *blizzard* which winter brings, by the Amran mountain slopes, the highest peak of which in the vicinity is 7,000 feet above sea-level. The shelter thus secured, notwithstanding the climate—tempting as such an elevation may appear to those sweltering in Indian plains—is not a little trying. The mean temperature registered for the summer months is 80° Fahrenheit, that for winter 37° ; but this gives but a poor idea of the rapid changes which have to be borne, even within twenty-four hours. In December the mercury often stands for days at 15°, and it not seldom falls below zero. The consequence is that pneumonia is not uncommon, one miner and several natives having lost their lives from this painful disease. The rainfall in 1889 was 6½ inches : it was never before measured.

The little settlement is just half way on the direct trunk road between Kandahar and Quetta. Strings of camels, laden with dried fruits, skins, spice and wool, are constantly passing down, to return from India with cargoes of iron, cotton, and English piece-goods. Fresh fruit—apricots, pomegranates, grapes and apples—is to be had in plenty, and to a jaded Anglo-Indian, whose breakfast table has for years boasted only of the eternal cotton-woolly plantains of the plains, a visit to these high latitudes, where his teeth meet in juicy peach, carries its own reward. These all come from the gardens round about Kandahar. At Shelabagh itself nothing grows excepting the wild pistachio and a little edible grass in the lower valleys. Large flocks of sheep, however, not only pick up a living, but grow fat on the hillsides, though what they can find to eat it is hard to conceive. The horses kept by the Engineers and miners are fed on *bhoosa* imported from Quetta ; milk is somewhat scarce, there being a paucity of goats, and butter is a dainty these colonists must perforce forego during their sojourn on the Kojak. But, with good mutton, excellent bread, and a plentiful supply of luscious fruit, men can manage to live well, and, considering the general inhospitality of the country, it is matter for wonder that more calls are not of necessity made on Messrs. Crosse and Blackwell. There is, at any rate, intramurally, no such thing as inhospitality to be found on the Amran !

There is not much sport to be obtained in the hills, and indeed, it is not considered very safe to wander far from the camp. Occasionally a few *chikors* are shot ; but, with this exception, the only living things to be found in these solitudes are

wolves and jackals. Even the ubiquitous crow does not appear to have penetrated so far. Sport being out of the question, the officers have fallen back upon billiards and lawn tennis to fill up their leisure hours, from a superabundance of which, however, they do not appear to suffer : tunnel-making is anxious and arduous work, and time hangeth not heavily on the hands of these handicraftsmen.

The local tribes appear to be friendly to the railway on the whole, but the treachery of a Pathan is notorious, and a guard of 150 sepoys of the Bengal Pioneers, under the command of an English officer, is lodged at Shelabagh for the protection of the little colony. So far all has been quiet, and the gallant captain's military demonstrations have been limited to marching his men up a hill and down again, to keep their knee-joints supple. No doubt, he and his brave handful would be "all there," if called to arms ; in the meantime their presence adds a comforting sense of security to the civil element.

But we have loitered long enough at Shelabagh, and must hurry on to Chaman, on the other side, to reach which we have a choice of three routes : (1), by crawling, bent double, through the tunnel ; (2), on horse-back along the military road winding in and out of the hills ; or (3), by the funicular railway, over the very summit of the Khojak. As we have, perhaps, seen enough of the first, and as the second offers no great novelty, we will, with the Engineer's kind permission, avail ourselves of the third.

For the enlightenment of those whose classics have grown somewhat rusty, it may be mentioned that *funis*, in the Latin tongue, means a rope. Hence "funicular" is applied to a railroad the motive power of which is imparted by a rope running over a drum. The history of this feat in engineering is briefly told. When the tunnel works were commenced, it was rightly estimated that at least some years must elapse before a train should pass through, and, as it was reckoned also politically desirable that we should be in a position to construct the railway in headlong haste into Kandahar in the event of an emergency, the question arose how we should, without waiting for the tunnel, put eighty miles of railway material across the mountains. By road, on camels, would have been a terribly slow business, if feasible at all, and the ingenuity of the Engineers was therefore put to the test, and resulted in the construction of a steep inclined plane up, and a corresponding one down on the other side, over which railway waggons, laden with railway material, are hauled, one at a time. The slope of this unique railroad is $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, that is to say, it rises $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet vertically to every foot forward horizontally.

On the top is a steam-engine working a huge drum, over which runs an endless steel rope, one loaded truck being hauled up as the empty truck descends for a second load. The curious part of the arrangement is that the track, instead of consisting of two separate lines of rail, parallel to each other, and at a distance admitting of waggons being crossed, the up track is *within* the down track, the trucks meeting at a loop half way, where, by a clever system of "points and crossings," they pass each other without colliding. The railway waggons do not run up this slope on their own wheels, the inclination being such that the cargo would certainly shift in the ascent. The waggons are therefore shunted into a truck, the platform of which remains horizontal, the front wheels of course being much smaller in diameter than the rear wheels. When the wagon reaches the summit, it is hauled off by an ordinary locomotive engine, for some distance, along a comparatively level railroad, till it reaches the western rope incline, where it is lowered away into Chaman in the same way, and thence it is again hauled by a locomotive to the terminus. The engines on the summit, as well as those on the Chaman side, were lifted and passed over by the funicular railroad. The working capacity of these inclines is 40 waggons per day of 12 hours: with night work, if necessary, this could be more than doubled. They have been hard at work for the past eighteen months or more, and nearly the whole of the material necessary to carry the railway into Kandahar is now stored on the Chaman side. There appears, however, to be not the remotest intention of pushing the railway an inch beyond the frontier at present. Such an act would involve a breach of faith with the Amir, our policy toward Afghanistan being one of non-interference, save on appeal. But the moral effect these eighty miles of rails exercise is incalculable, and the day may come when they will be laid, be it as a measure of peace, with the concurrence of the Afghan ruler, or as a measure of war, for the protection of the British flag.

The funicular railway having conveyed us with perfect comfort, if with a somewhat novel sensation, to the crest, we may now gaze to our hearts content on the boundless Kandahar plain stretching below. As a prospect conveying an idea of abstract vastness, it is probably unmatched. It is like an angry sea suddenly petrified into yellow sand. For miles and miles the eye has no resting place, until at length, 60 miles distant, it lights on the range of mountains which conceal Kandahar itself from view.

Descending to Chaman—which signifies a grassy swamp, and is thus named after some springs in the valley which afford a patch of grazing—we find a second colony of Engineers in

charge of the Western mouth of the tunnel. Everything we found at Selabagh is here repeated, the bazar, the bungalows, the tennis court and the few traggling pistachio trees. But in place of having the military in their midst, the Chamanites are guarded by the military outpost some few miles further west, where are posted two companies of Native Infantry, one squadron of Bombay Cavalry, and two mountain guns. The climate on this side is even more severe than at Shelabagh, there being no shelter from the biting winds which blow across the Kandahar plain. In a photograph of Chaman, taken in winter, it is represented as carpeted with snow. Even in the month of August, and gazing from the crow's nest across the lowlands, a top-coat was found to be a comfort.

And now, with a few words anent the roads over which our steps must be retraced to Selabagh, we will bid the tunnel and its hospitable Engineers a cordial farewell. There are two roads over the pass. The old road, constructed by the Military Department in 1879, though a vast improvement on the Native camel track, which did duty before we invaded the Kandahar country, is yet somewhat narrow, steep and difficult. The ruling grade is 1 in 8 over long distances. In 1887, however, a second and greatly superior road was made with grades of 1 in 10, and none of them very long. The roads have, of course, been of the greatest service to the railway Engineer, nearly all the plant, machinery and building materials for Chaman having passed over them. And with these two highways over, and one highway through, the mountain, the conditions ruling a future march on Kandahar would compare favourably indeed with those under which the campaign of 1879 was conducted, when the heavy guns, owing to the abruptness of the declivity on the far side, had to be slung in ropes in order to reach the bottom in safety.

That peace, however, and not war may be our portion in Beluchistan for a long future, is earnestly to be hoped. If the latter upholds British prestige, it is none the less true that the former tends to develop our popularity, not only directly with the people within our territory, but indirectly with the surrounding tribes. Men are, after all, human, even though they be but barbarians, and for those who have tasted of both, a comparison between the harsh and arbitrary despotism of their own rulers and our more civilized qualities in governing, must come home to them with striking conviction. On the railway and on other works, employment has been provided for thousands of these people, who have found themselves paid with regularity and treated with justice. The rough ways, moreover, have been

made smooth for them through their rugged gorges, and they are fully sensible of the benefit of almost absolute security to life and property which their caravans enjoy the moment they cross over into British ground. This peace [and considering the thinness of the population, it may be added *plenty*] which now reigns over this newly-acquired territory, is due in a great measure to the ability of Sir Robert Sandeman, who, carrying the official title of Agent to the Governor-General, Beluchistan, and Chief Commissioner, British Beluchistan, is entrusted with the jurisdiction of the country. His powers are those of the High Court, except over Europeans in criminal cases.

Speaking of the popularity of the railway, it is even said that the people of Kandahar would rejoice at hearing the locomotive whistle within their gates. It would mean for them improved trade with India. But the court at Cabul is, of course, jealous of any seeming interference, and Abdur Rahman would himself (even if he be sufficiently enlightened to appreciate the benefits of a railway though his country—which is doubtful) probably meet with much internal opposition if he acquiesced in any peaceful overtures on our part, having for their object the further extension across the border of the North-Western Railway. There has been told a story pertinent to the subject which will perhaps bear repetition. When the Governor of Kandahar visited Chaman, he was invited by the Engineer to make a tour round the works, including an excursion into the tunnel itself. "Sahibs"—was his reply—"when you English have shot a man through his breast, do you then invite his friends to come and see the hole?"

But if the new country is quiet, it must not be rashly concluded that the civilizing influence we have brought to bear is the sole element from which law and order have sprung. If the Afghan is not beyond appreciating British integrity and fair play, he has also a very wholesome respect for power. Like the rest of India the country is virtually held by the sword, albeit that sword is happily sheathed. There is a strong force at Quetta, the head-quarters of a division, under the command of General Sir George White.

The railway, from Shikarpore upwards, is not meant to be, and certainly never will be, a paying commercial speculation. The gradients are too steep and the country is too poor. It is possible, of course, that trade will develop with these improved means of communication, though the trade returns at hand do not, so far, show a tendency toward an increase. From the accounts published by the Finance and Commerce Department, relating to the trade by land of British India with foreign countries for the twelve months ending 31st March 1890, as compared with the two previous years, we gather that the total

value of imports from Kandahar and Khorassan into Sind was registered as follows :—

IMPORTS.

By road.	Trans-frontier by rail, exclusive of railway material.
1887-88 Rs. 1,08,030	1887-88 Rs. 20,60,156
1888-89 „ 1,19,851	1888-89 „ 28,67,903
1889-90 „ 98,686	1889-90 „ 27,40,789

The figures representing value of railway materials re-imported into India have been purposely omitted. They probably stand for machinery, plant and materials used on the Sind-Pishin (Hurnai) and Bolan Railways during construction, which, on the completion of those lines, were transferred to other lines under construction in India, and the figures will thus probably not appear in future returns showing the flow of trade into Sind. From the above it will be seen that about one lakh of Rupees' worth of merchandise finds its way down by camel. This is not a very large quantity ; but, such as it is, the railway will probably carry it when once the line is open to Chaman, which will then become the terminus of the Kandahar *Kafilas*. Now that the caravans have to cross the Khojak Pass—the most difficult part of the journey—they seem to prefer pushing on to Shikarpore to making use of the railway. As a matter of fact, there has probably been competition between the camel and the locomotive, but it is quite obvious from the above table that the latter has already practically driven the former out of the field.

The tables below give an analysis of the import trade for the last year only :—

IMPORTS BY ROAD 1889-90.

	Rs.		Rs.
Animals, living (for sale)		Brought forward	... 44.372
horses, ponies, mules ...	27,278	Fruit	... 26,190
Animals, living (for sale)		Ghi	... 11,690
other kinds ...	12,907	Silk (manufactured)	... 50 ⁰
Drugs and medicines	... 2,177	Tobacco	... 1,050
Madder	... 2,010	Wool	... 14,420
	—	Piece-goods (manufacturer)...	464
Carried over ...	<u>44.372</u>	Total Rs. ...	<u>98,686</u>

IMPORTS BY RAIL 1889-90.

(Exclusive of Railway materials).

	Rs.	Rs.	
Animals, living (for sale) ...	3,200	Brought forward ...	11,50,117
Cotton (raw) ...	106	Leather (unmanufactured) ...	680
Twist and Yarn ...	208	Leather (manufactured) ...	16,440
Piece goods (European) ...	174	Liquors ...	1,580
Cotton (manufactured) ...	1,950	Metals ...	22,326
Drugs and medicines ...	16,328	Oil Cake ...	332
Charas ...	3,536	Oils ...	31
Indigo ...	744	Provisions (Ghi, &c.) ...	87,483
Dyeing materials ...	496	Salt and saline substances ...	1,47,456
Turmeric ...	1,105	Mustard and rape seed ...	14,132
Jute ...	11,370	Til seed ...	47
Other fibres ...	20	Other oil seeds ...	2,925
Fruit and vegetables ...	6,66,148	Other seeds ...	13,038
Grain ...	63,786	Spices ...	79,573
Gram and pulse ...	19,134	Sugar ...	1,141
Other spring crops ...	612	Tea ...	80
Rice ...	544	Tobacco ...	7,987
Other rain crops ...	57,038	Timber ...	1,325
Hides and skins (large) ...	6,480	Wool (raw) ...	13,85,410
Sheep and goat skins ...	20,790	Wool (manufactured) ...	7,100
Horns ...	20	Other articles unclassed (raw) ...	3,119
		Ditto, (manufactured) ...	74,735
Carried forward ...	<u>11,50,117</u>	Total Rs. ...	<u>27,40,789</u>

A glance at the above will show that fruit and wool are the two principal staples. Now, as railway freights are not regulated "*ad valorem*," but in ratio of weight and bulk, and as both fruit and wool are light and of great bulk, this is not what railway Managers would call a paying description of traffic.

Touching exports, the following returns prove that the camels carry away merchandise to about the same value as that brought down, but that the export trade on the whole is greatly in excess of imports. But it must be borne in mind, in regard to both the outward and the inward flow, that the Indian frontier line is at Jacobabad, and that a large proportion of this trade moves only between Shikarpore and Quetta. Railway materials have again been omitted, as representing an abnormal state of traffic, and coal burned on the railway, as representing no actual revenue to the line. The large items of timber, arms, and ammunition have also been scratched. The timber was probably moved by the Military Department, and the railway, to build Quetta, and the Military stores presumably found their way up to stock the Quetta garrison.

EXPORTS.

By road.		By rail, exclusive of railway materials, coal, coke, timber, arms and ammunition.			
1887-88	...	Rs. 1,83,443	1887-88	...	Rs. 98,55,559
1888-89	...	1,07,079	1888-89	...	76,81,260
1889-90	...	1,69,592	1889-90	..	81,22,696

EXPORTS BY ROAD, 1889-90.

	Rs.	Rs.	
Cattle	3 575	Brought forward	1,40,009
Chinese and Japanese Ware	19,020	Rain crops	635
Cotton (manufactured)	1,13,862	Leather (manufactured)	13,500
Turmeric	1,172	Metals Brass, Copper	660
Other dyeing materials	2,200	Do. Iron	1,374
Fibres (manufactured)	180	Do. Assorted	5,490
		Sugar	7,920
Carried forward	1,40,009	Total Rs.	1,69,592

EXPORTS BY RAIL, 1889-90.

(Exclusive of Railway materials, coal, coke, timber, arms & ammunition.)

	Rs.	Rs.	
Cattle	1,820	Brought forward	55,07,090
Cotton (raw)	14,039	Metals, assorted	3,606
Cotton (manufactured)	27,900	Oil Cake	183
Twist and yarn	11,466	Oils	47,400
Piece-goods (European)	12,19,131	Do.	86,923
Piece goods (Indian)	22,53,615	Ghi	35,534
Drugs	12,840	Provisions	89,450
Charas	2,056	Salt	10,216
Indigo	1,58,038	Saline substances	3,686
Madder	2,229	Seeds	180
Turmeric	3,075	Ditto	114
Dyeing materials	38,300	Til seed	3,492
Fibrous products	1,65,784	Seed	605
Fruit	2,37,040	Do.	2,336
Gram	1,87,710	Silk (raw)	6,600
Other spring crops	9,477	Ditto (manufactured)	4,500
Rice	1,84,397	Spices	31,781
Rain crops	5,388	Stationery	700
Hides and skins	5,675	Stone and Marble	2,296
Leather (unmanufactured)	3,425	Sugar	5,34,748
Ditto (manufactured)	47,840	Tea	67,400
Liquors	4,44,490	Tobacco	39,288
Metals	4,71,337	Firewood	4,117
		Wool (raw)	340
Carried over	55,07,090	Wool (manufactured)	2,11,900
		Other articles of manufacture (raw)	10,803
		Ditto (manufactured)	14,17,411
		Total Rs.	81,22,696

This is, certainly, more promising than the down traffic. In addition to being three times as great in value, the heavy items are this time piece, goods, metals and sugar—paying traffic to the railways. Yet the sum totals are small, and, as we have seen, show as yet no tendency to improve.

But even though the railway authorities should perforce shake their heads and sigh over the trade returns, and declare that the line will scarce even pay its working expenses [which is taking a very pessimistic view], it must still be admitted that every rupee spent on its construction has been wisely spent, in promoting the security of India. The bill, no doubt, has been a heavy one, and there will be yet more to pay, but the outlay is as nothing compared with the ruinous expense to which the great Empire would have to submit should a Russian advance find it unprepared.

There are yet a few isolated politicians who argue that, because Russia has never knocked at India's gates, all danger of her ever doing so may be regarded as chimerical. They persist in quarrelling with a policy which strengthens those gates, on the score of the enormous expenditure involved. But if war with Russia is but the dream of visionaries, war with Afghans is at least an ever threatening probability. What was forced on us in 1839 and 1842, and again in 1878 and 1880, may be forced on us again at any moment, and, in view of this contingency alone, the possession of an impregnable frontier, with the passes in our hands, is to India surely of paramount importance. Therefore let a red-letter day in Indian annals be now scored:—the 17th day of April 1890, the day on which the Great Amran was pierced.

E. B.

ART. II.—IVAN KRILOV THE RUSSIAN FABULIST.

WHAT Æsop was to Greece, what La Fontaine is to France, Ivan Krilov is to Russia.

Krilov was born in Moscow in 1768, in the early years of the reign of Katherine the Great, after the death of her husband, the ill-starred Peter III.

Peter III, the half-German grandson of Peter the Great, had married the German princess, Katherine of Anhalt-Serbst. He came to the throne in 1762. Though bearing the title of Emperor, he had nothing imperial about him but the name, and the imperious will and penetrating intellect of his wife entirely dominated him.

After six weeks of their joint reign, Katherine determined to rule alone, and almost immediately afterwards, her husband mysteriously disappeared ; Katherine was proclaimed Empress, and the regiments of the Guard took the oath of allegiance to her. What became of Peter the Third is not certainly known ; but Katherine, though reputed of pure German blood, had genius enough to make herself more Russian than the Russians, to gain firm hold on the imperial throne and the hearts of the nation, and to reign brilliantly till the end of the century.

As similar events in English history would lead us to expect, the disappearance of Peter the Third was the signal for the appearance of more than one Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. The greatest of these was the Pretender, Pugatchov, who appeared on the upper waters of the River Ural.

To this Ural country all the malcontents of the previous reigns, for the most part Kazaks from the Don and Dnieper, had betaken themselves. Here, also, were many tribes of Tatars, Kirgiz, Mardva, Bashkirs and other lawless nomads.

Amongst these people, who were the very material for a rebellion, arose, in 1771, the famous Pretender, Pugatchov. He was a Kazak, a heavy powerful man, with jet-black hair and black flashing eyes. Nevertheless, when this tawny Kazak claimed to be the pale, sickly, sandy haired German, Peter the Third, he found not a few Kazaks ready to believe him, and to espouse his fortunes. With a nucleus of three hundred horsemen, he besieged and seized a small fortress near Orenburg on the Ural, and this victory added three thousand Kazaks to his ranks. With this considerable force he marched towards the rich city of Orenburg, and by the time he reached it, his forces numbered twenty-five thousand, all the small turbulent

tribes having thrown in their lot with him after his first successes.

By this time the news of his revolt had travelled to St. Petersburg, then a month's journey from Orenburg and the Ural country. Katherine the Great sent several regiments against him from St. Petersburg and Moscow, and in one of these regiments served Captain Andrey Krilov, the father of the future fabulist.

Captain Andrey Krilov took with him his wife and son, then just three years old. All three went through the campaign together, and at one time they were blockaded, with their regiment, in a small fortress on the Ural, by the forces of the triumphant Pugatchov.

The Empress then sent her skilful General, Bibikov, against the Pretender, and, under this General's leadership, the imperial armies at last began to make some headway against the insurgents, and the nobility of the Ural Provinces began to regain courage and bring together their scattered forces.

For some time Bibikov risked no battle with the rebels. He devoted himself to restoring confidence to the nobility, and to the panic-stricken cities of the South Eastern Provinces.

Almost all the noble families had been decimated by Pugatchov, who sought to gain adherents by distributing the wealth of the nobles amongst the lowest of the peasants. Bibikov spent some weeks in preparing festivals, balls, and receptions in the large cities, in order to re-awaken confidence in the imperial power and the continuance of the imperial rule. But Bibikov's work was cut short by death, and the Pretender's star again came into the ascendant. For several months he ruled absolutely a territory larger than England. He used his power to ruin the old Russian nobility, and to raise peasants and Kazaks to their places. He acted on the superstitions of the fanatic peasantry, calling on them to defend the old Russian faith, and the old Russian dynasty, against religious innovation and the German influence of Katherine.

Pugatchov was not finally defeated till 1774, when Katherine sent against him Suvorov, the greatest of Russian Generals, and one of the greatest soldiers of all time. Suvorov shares with two men, Hannibal and Napoleon, the honour of having crossed the Alps at the head of an army; an exploit which forms the subject of one of the best Russian historical novels.

This is the Russia to which Ivan Krilov was born, and in which he was left, to make his own way, by the death of his father in 1780. Young Krilov, then only twelve years old, went with his excellent, but uncultured mother to the city of Tver, where he obtained the post of junior clerk in the Magisterial office. Two years later, he went with his mother to

St. Petersburg, where he got some post in the Court of Exchequer, and afterwards in the imperial household.

Though Krilov passed in the midst of the most stirring scenes—battles, sieges, insurrections, massacres—those tender years of boyhood when the mind and imagination most readily receive impressions, yet it is characteristic of his mind and nature, that in none of his writings is there any reflexion whatever of the adventures and sufferings of his early years. All his life he dwelt apart, in an imaginary paradise, shutting out the external world, and nourished only by the products of his own mind.

In strong contrast to his contemporary, Goethe, whose boyhood glimpses of the marches and counter-marches of the armies of Frederick the Great appear again and again in his writings, the warlike surroundings of young Krilov seem to have left no impression on his mind at all.

We find him in 1783, at the age of fifteen, choosing for his maiden work a comedy entitled the "Soothsayer," or, more exactly, the "Spey-wife," detailing the adventures of an old woman who told fortunes from the patterns of coffee-grains in the bottom of a cup.

Krilov's literary work must be divided into two periods—the fruitless, which lasted till he was almost forty, and the fruitful, from forty till his death. After the "Spey-wife," which opened his fruitless period, he wrote two tragedies, "Philomela" and "Cleopatra," but they are almost worthless.

Ivan Krilov's mother died in 1788, leaving him alone in the world at the age of twenty. He gave up his post, and determined to devote himself solely to literature. He began by editing a journal, the "Ghost's Mail," to which many talented writers contributed. Soon after, he edited the "Spectator," and in 1792 the "St. Petersburg Mercury," but none of Krilov's own contributions have survived. Krilov then produced a comic opera, "The Mad Family," and later, two comedies, "the Scapegraces," and "The Antichamber," all nearly worthless. These were followed by "The Fashion Shop," "Lessons to Daughters," and "Ilya Bagatir."

In 1806 Krilov, then thirty-nine years old, struck the true vein, and opened his fruitful period by a translation of La Fontaine's "Oak and Reed," and "The Exacting Bride." In 1809 he published the first book of his fables, twenty-two in number, only six of which are imitations.

Krilov's fables—the works which have made him immortal—are written in terse, idiomatic Russian, and are full of the strongest Russian national feeling. There is nothing at all resembling his fables in English, unless it be some of Gay's forgotten works, so that we are driven to foreign literature for comparisons to illustrate him.

Though his form is the same as La Fontaine's, his spirit much more closely resembles that of Beranger. He is quite free from the affectation and mannerism of the French fabulist, and full of broad, genuine humour and goodheartedness. See him as a stout, middle-aged man of forty, with his beaming face and double chin ; with what kindness and *bonhomie* he laughs at the classic school in his "Parnassus;" how many profound and genial judgments on life and manners in his social fables ; and yet withal we have an unworldliness, a far-awayness from the things of this earth, that make of him a kind of comic Hamlet, for whom 'the objective world is in eternal subordination to the subjective impressions of the mind.'

We shall try to illustrate Krilov's fables by a few translations, following faithfully the metre and form of his verse, and begging our readers to excuse the imperfections of the result, as it is unhappily not true of the translator that

"He lisped in numbers, for the numbers came."

The chief peculiarities of Krilov's verse are the ruggedness of the rhythm, the frequent use of doggerel, where a short line rhymes with a long one, and the varying order of the rhymes. But even when we imitate all this, and translate word for word as well, much of the peculiar aroma of the verse, much of its grace and quaintness necessarily evaporate,—the fate with every poet, from Homer downwards, whose works are rendered in a foreign tongue.

THE LIAR.

Homeward from distant lands returning,
 A nobleman (perhaps a prince)
 Out walking with a friend one morning,
 Boasted about the country whence
 He'd come. To fact bold fiction adding,
 "No," cried he, sorrowfully nodding,
 "What I have seen, I'll never see again.
 What sort of country have you here ?
 Too hot or cold for half the year ;
 Now the sun bakes, now pelts the rain.
 But *there* it's paradise indeed,
 Fur coats or fires you never need,
 Even to think of it revives delight ;
 Not once an age you have a gloomy night ;
 'Tis one May-day through all the livelong year,
There you need neither plant nor sow,
 And if you saw the things that grow. . . .
 In Rome I once beheld a cucumber,
 —Oh Lord ! to think of it
 Confuses all my wit,—

Would you believe? Indeed 'twas bigger than a mount?

"Ah," cried the friend, "indeed, 'tis wonderful;

But in the world are wonders plentiful,
Though 'tis not everywhere that wonders count.

Just now, for instance, we shall come upon
A strange phenomenon
The like of which, I'll bet,
You never met. . . .

Do you see yonder bridge across the stream?

—(Soon we shall cross it) simple though it seem,

'Tis a true wonder. Not a liar here

Will venture on it; for when he is near

Half way across, the bridge will gape in two,
And, splash! the liar straightway tumbles through.

But he who speaks the truth and does not lie,
May in a carriage fearlessly go by."

"And is the water deep?" "Not deep, I own,

Yet deep enough to drown

A liar or two. And so, you see,

More than one kind of wonder there may be.

But Roman cucumbers *are* big, that's certain:

I think you said—'as big as any mountain,'?"

—"Well, not perhaps a mountain, but a house."

—"Tis hard to credit.

I wonder at it.

This bridge is somewhat of a wonder, too,

For it wont let a liar go

Across it. Just this very spring,

Down through the bridge—the whole town knows it all—

A tailor and two journalists did fall.

But still, a cucumber that's bigger than

A house *is* wonderful, deny it who can."

"Well, not so wonderful when once you see

Exactly how the matters be.

You don't find everywhere

Houses as big as here.

The houses there (I should have mentioned it)

Will just hold two who neither stand nor sit."

"Well, even so, I think a cucumber

With room for two inside, is no small wonder.

But all the same, our bridge is, too;

For not a liar across can go,

But through he'll fall.

Yet Roman cucumbers are wonders, after all, . . . ?

"Look here, my friend,"—The liar put in his word,

"Why cross the bridge? let's go and seek a ford."

Visions of exorbitant bills and special correspondents' lies rise before us, called up by the episode of the "Two Journalists and a Tailor" who came to grief on the Liar's Bridge. No better example could be given of the keen, yet kindly cuts Krilov sometimes deals to a class or tradition. There is also in this fable a patriotic protest against the following of foreign fashions and modes of thought introduced into Russia by Peter the Great, to the detriment of Russian national growth and development. It is only to-day that Russia is regaining entire self-confidence, under the patriotic influence of the present Emperor.

In "Peace and War," Lyef Tolstoi holds up to ridicule the infatuation of the Court of Alexander I. for German strategists and "ideologists," and the popular resentment against foreign influence is summed up in the answer of General Yermolow to the Emperor Nicholas, who offered him any reward he wished for his Persian victories in 1827. "Will Your Highness," said Yermolov, "promote me to be a *German*?"

THE MUSICIANS.

To dine, a noble asked his friend—
 The dinner, though, was not his end,
 Our host loved music, and, the sinner,
 To show his band off, gave the dinner—
 His minstrels raised their voices, but the tune
 Was hard to tell, as each one chose his own.
 The guest, quite deafened by the sound,
 With head and senses whirling round,
 Cried out, "Forgive me, friend!" in great dismay,
 How can this screaming please you, pray?"
 "True," said our host, recovering soon,
 "They sing a *little* out of tune;
 But then, they never touch the glass;
 Their manners with the best may pass."

And I say—Better drink their fill,
 And understand their work as well.

The nobles with their serf "Musicians" bring us back to old Russia, before the schemes of Nicholas and the benevolent folly of Alexander II had emancipated the serfs. Prædial slavery in Russia dates only from the year 1605, eight years before the accession of the Imperial House of Romanov, when serfdom was instituted to prevent the depopulation of great tracts of Russian territory by the emigration of bands of discontented peasantry to the south, to the country of the Don and the Dnieper. Here the malcontents formed

themselves into irregular bands of Kazaks, and conquered extensive territories, afterwards brought under the Russian Crown. From 1605 till the reign of the Empress Elizabeth, the serfs were attached to the soil, and could not be disposed of separately. In Old Russia, before the emancipation, the Russians, with the exception of the mercantile class, were sharply divided into the noble owners on the one side, and their property, the peasantry, on the other. It was the promiscuous education of the sons of the "owned," by the idealist Alexander II., that produced the class which gave birth to that Socialist movement to which the Emperor afterwards fell a victim. This Socialist movement is entirely distinct from the true "Nihilists," who were a Voltairean philosophic clique, and never took any active part in politics. There was no place in the Russian policy for the half-educated sons of peasants who were turned out in crowds from the schools and universities, and it was the social instability caused by the sudden creation of this new class—just at the time when many of the smaller nobility were ruined by the compulsory emancipation of their serfs—that gave birth to the Revolutionary Socialists. They are now disappearing, as social equilibrium is gradually being restored.

There can be no Russian Revolution, as the nobility and the vast mass of the Russian people are firmly attached to the House of Romanov, and more firmly still to the sentiment of continuity of national development. The Socialists would never have existed if Alexander II., instead of flooding Russia with a host of emancipated serfs, had so arranged matters that the freedom of the serfs should have been gradually accomplished in a space of fifty or a hundred years. It was, again, that lack of national self-confidence, and that bowing to foreign opinion which we have illustrated, that were to answer for all the disturbances from 1860 till the death of the late Emperor. There should have been no violent solution of continuity between the system which nourished the rustic nobility of Krilov's "Musicians," and the social system of the present day.

Of more universal interest are the next two poems we shall quote:—

THE WOLF AND THE CUCKOO.

"Good-bye! friend cuckoo," said the wolf. "In vain
Would I in peace beside you here remain;
For dogs and people frequently come here,
Each worse than each. Though I an angel were,
Still, somehow, they 'd find cause of war."

"Well, neighbour, are you going far?
Where is the land whose virtues give
You hopes in quietude to live?"

“ Oh, I shall take the shortest road
 To bright Arcadia’s happy wood ;
 For there, they say, there is no war ;
 Like lambs the gentle people are ;
 And there with milk the rivers run,
 The golden age still lingers on ;
 They walk, like brothers, hand in hand ;
 Dogs bark not in that happy land ;
 And, as for fighting !
 Or even biting !

Tell me, my dove, does it not seem
 A visit to that land in dream
 Would bring delight to any one ?

Think kindly of me when I’m gone,
 I shall live peaceful, easeful there
 Not fearful, day and night, as here.”

“ A happy journey, friend,” replied the cuckoo,

“ But your wolf’s nature, and your teeth—
 You leave them here, or take them with you ? ”-

“ I leave them ? Why, the thought’s beneath
 Contempt ! ” “ Mark me ! ” the cuckoo said,
 “ You’ll surely lose your skin instead.”

—Find out some marauder, or pirate, and he
 The first to blame peaceable people will be.
 Still complaining of others, in every saint
 The villain finds some unendurable taint.

which is simply Krilov’s way of saying, that the most quarrelsome people in the neighbourhood, the people who are at the bottom of every row, are always the first to complain of the contentious disposition of their neighbours.

Here, as in many of Krilov’s fables, the wolf makes his appearance, as might be expected from his familiarity to the Russian people. Perhaps the reason that England has no national fables is, that in England, wild animals are almost extinct, and the few that remain give the fabulist scant chances of observing them.

When Gay wrote “ The Hare with Many Friends,” he merely copied the antics of his animals from Æsop, and it is not at all certain to the reader that he ever saw a hare : and we have to go back to Chaucer’s “ The Cock and the Fox ”* and the “ Parliament of Foules ” before we get any real nature-pictures. Take Chaucer’s description of the fox “ full of sly iniquity,”

* The None Prestes Tale.

—“ His colour was bitwixe yelwe and reed ;
 And tipped was his tail, and bothe his eeres
 With blak, unlik the remnaunt of his heres ;
 His snowte smal, with glowing eyen tweye,”

who lies in wait for the cock ; full of fresh morning joy—

—“ This Chauntecleer his wynges gan to bete,
 stood heighe upon his toos,
 Strecching his nekke, and held his eyghen cloos,
 And gan to crowe lowde for the noones ;”

then the sad *dénouement*, which cut short the morning music of the cock :

—“ And daun Russel the fox sterte up at oones,
 And by the garget hente Chauntecleer,
 And on his bak toward the woode him beer.”

This passage is not equalled, or approached, in the whole range of English literature. Here, alone, we have the true fabulist's touch, but the great length of these poems of Chaucer prevents them from being a true parallel, as far as form goes, to the fables of Æsop, La Fontaine, and Krilov.

Krilov's “ Swan, Crayfish and Pike,” is a little gem, that illustrates exquisitely, by picking out a single strongly marked characteristic, the use which the fabulist makes of animals to depict moral qualities :—

THE SWAN, THE CRAYFISH AND THE PIKE.

A crayfish, pike, and swan agreed one day
 To pull a waggon all together,
 So harnessed each to his own tether.
 They pulled and pulled away
 With all their might and main :
 Alas ! 'twas all in vain,
 The waggon moved not, (all the same,
 The load was light enough for them,)
 Because the crayfish always backward ran,
 While in the sky
 The swan soared high,
 And in the stream the pike to pull began.
 Who was to blame ? who right ? I cannot say ;
 Only the waggon *stays* there to this day.

Krilov's moral is—people of incompatible dispositions should not enter into partnership.

Though this moral applies to marriages most forcibly of all partnerships, yet it is almost certain that Krilov himself never made this application. That unworldliness of his was so strong, that he never had a household of his own, never was married, and was never even in love.

"Grandfather Krilov" counted the whole youth of Russia as his children, for he never had a child of his own. He was so fond of children, that he often used to stop a little child in the street, and make him a present of a silver five-kopek piece: just out of kindness, and the overflowing affection of his tender heart.

When Krilov was about forty-two, the battle between the Classic and the Romantic schools was raging in Russian literature. Just as in France, the old school, the country poets, the followers of Racine and Corneille, were being fiercely attacked by the Romanticists, the children of the French Revolution; and in England the Romantic school under Byron, Shelley and Wordsworth was triumphing over the successors of Pope and Dryden, so in Russia, the Academic poets were fiercely attacked by the young Romantic and Natural school that has created modern Russian literature.

Pope's Russian contemporary, Prince Kantemir, presents in his thoughts and writings the strongest analogy to Pope himself. Both have the same stiff, almost mechanical verse, the same reflected and artificial sentiment; both have written satires in imitation of Horace, and the rhymed couplets of both teem with Chloes, Lydias, and Corydons. In England and in Russia, these poets were succeeded by the semi-classical Grey and Derjavin,— both writers of Pindaric odes,— and the sentimental Thomson and Karamzin. The resemblance between these poets is very great, and the parallelism of the poetical epochs in the two nations is remarkable.

It was this classico-sentimental school that Jukovsky and Pushkin attacked at the beginning of this century, just when Byron and Wordsworth were finally discrediting the traditions of the classical epoch, and securely establishing the modern Romantic school of English poetry.

Pushkin, Jukovsky and Gogol, by the profound, penetrating genius and broad naturalism of their writings, completely eclipsed and disestablished the old classico-sentimental poets, and firmly founded the modern school of Russian writers. All Russia took sides in the contest, and for a long time the rival schools continued side by side.

This was just the time when Krilov was writing the first book of his fables; he sided with the modern school, and satirised the classicists in "Parnassus."

PARNASSUS.

When the gods from Greece were driven,
And their haunts to men were given,
Some one or other bought up Mount Parnassus,
And on its slopes began to feed his asses:

The asses—how I know not—came to hear
 That formerly the muses had lived there,
 And said, “Tis not for nought that we
 Are driven to Parnassus’ lea.

The world is weary of the muses,
 And now to hear our voices chooses.”
 “Come now,” cried one, “I see the way !
 I shall tune up ; support my lay ;
 Friends do not fear, but, mark my word !

We shall do honour to our herd,
 And then the old nine sisters higher
 Shall raise the voices of our choir.

And to protect our brotherhood,
 To make a rule like this, were good ;
 All those who cannot sing like asses
 Shall be kicked down from steep Parnassus.

With praise the asses, ass-like, heard
 This eloquent and cunning word :
 And the new choir’s music starts
 Like a row of heavy carts,
 With axles shrieking,
 And felloes creaking.

Well, and what came of their melodious song ?

It was not long
 Before their master wearied of it all,
 And sent each ass back to his native stall.

Be not offended if my meaning dark you find ;
 My object innocently is to call to mind
 The saying that, if empty be the head,
 To place it high will not supply the need.

The asses who have assumed the seats of the muses nine, are, of course, the Classic and Academic school. Krilov has a hit at them in using the classical metaphors and allusions. The rivals of the asses in possession, are the Romantic school who are to be kicked down from steep Parnassus. The master of the asses is, probably, the public, who did, in fact, defend the new school against the Academicians. Of course Krilov’s moral about calling to mind the ancient saying, is merely a blind, and a very transparent one.

In only one poem does Krilov reflect the great historical events which were convulsing Europe at the time he wrote, and that poem is the “Wolf at the Kennel.” It commemorates the descent of Napoleon upon Russia, “like the wolf on the fold,” in 1812.

To understand the fable, and the fulness of patriotism and hatred which even the subjective and unworldly Krilov put into

it, we shall have to recall the incidents which preceded and led to Napoleon's Russian campaign.

Murat was King of Italy. Joseph Bonaparte had just lost the throne of Spain by the Peninsular war. Seeing Napoleon's army vanquished in Spain, the Austrian Emperor, Francis I., determined to attempt the recovery of his lost provinces, Venice and Tyrol. The peace of Schonbrunn ended this attempt, and Austria again became the ally of Napoleon, who married Marie Louise, the Austrian Emperor's daughter. During this last campaign against Austria, Alexander I. of Russia had been the friend and ally of Napoleon. But shortly afterwards Alexander I. aroused the hostility of Napoleon by desiring to open his ports to English ships in defiance of Napoleon's prohibition. With this exception, Alexander was willing to agree to Napoleon's general policy, and to remain on friendly terms with him. Diplomatic relations continued between them till Alexander I, uneasy at Napoleon's changes amongst the European Sovereigns, endeavoured to obtain a pledge from him that Poland should not be made independent. Napoleon refused to give any pledge. Then Alexander I broke off diplomatic relations with France, and threw open his ports to English and European commerce, in direct contravention of Napoleon's plan.

Napoleon determined to give the Russian Emperor a lesson, and, collecting a force of half a million men, marched through Prussia to the Russian frontier. In order to realise the terrible danger that overhung Russia, and the almost complete ruin that conquest by Napoleon would have meant, we must remember the condition of the Russian Army in the summer of 1812.

Russia's conquests in Finland, which had extended her boundary to the river Torneo, had cost her dear in troops and money. In 1812 ended a three years war with Turkey, which added the rich provinces of Bessarabia and New Russia on the Black Sea. In 1812, and for several years before, the war in the Caucasus had been raging with Abbas Mirza and the Persians: this was continued till after Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. The Russian Army, therefore, had just finished two protracted wars and was carrying on a third, all three at the extremities of the Russian Empire, and at immense distances from the point of Napoleon's attack on the Niemen. All three detachments of the Russian Army were worn out and thinned by their previous campaigns. Moreover, a large force had to be maintained in the Caucasus at any cost.

Such was the position of Napoleon and Russia when the French Emperor "meditated an attack on the sheepfold," in the words of Krilov's fable:—

THE WOLF AT THE KENNEL.

One night a wolf, to the sheepfold prowling,
 By error to the kennel found his way.
 The hounds broke forth in sudden howling,
 Scenting so near their grey-furred enemy.
 They rushed to drag the robber out—
 “Thieves! Hurry friends!” the huntsman cried,
 And swiftly shut the hounds inside.
 The kennel raged with maddened rout,
 All ran: with cudgels some,
 Others with guns and bullet pouches;
 “Bring fire!” cry some: with fire they come.
 The wolf back to a corner crouches,
 With grinding teeth and bristling mane,
 Eager to tear them young and old,
 But, seeing now resistance vain,
 And that he’d missed the fold,
 And that the time had come at last
 To pay for all his murders past,
 Bethought him, craftily,
 To try diplomacy:
 And thus began; “My friend, what means this wild turmoil?
 I’m your ally and ancient friend,
 I’ve come to make my peace, and not for spoil;
 Not only will I spare your fold,
 But guard it against robbers bold;
 And by the honour of a wolf, I swear,
 That I”—“Come, neighbour!”—here
 The huntsman cried, “Your hair is grey,
 But mine is white, remember, pray,
 I’ve known wolf’s nature for a long time back;
 And peace with wolves should not be made
 Till with their skins they’ve hostage paid.”
 Then on the wolf he loosed the pack.

Although their army had been weakened by the campaigns in Finland, Turkey and the Caucasus, the Russians managed to put 200,000 men into the field under Barclay de Tolly and Bagration, to meet Napoleon’s half million of soldiers. The Russian generals withdrew to the south and east, to cover Moscow, and to cut off Napoleon’s route to the rich Southern provinces. All along the road towards Smolensk, the French generals had been strangely affected with a presentiment of coming misfortune. They met with nothing but ruined villages and burned corn fields, destroyed by the peasants themselves to prevent the invader from profiting by them. Napoleon published proclamations of pardon and benevolence

to the Russian peasantry, but his fair words gained him not a single wagonload of corn. At length the grey walls of Smolensk came in view, and Napoleon at last began to hope that rest and food were at hand for his soldiers. Smolensk was reached, and there Napoleon received a warning that might have averted his future ruin if he had heeded it. For Smolensk lay before him, only deserted and in ruins, like a presentiment of the fate of Moscow.

Then Napoleon tried to open up negotiations with his "brother" Alexander I, proposing fair and liberal terms of peace. Messenger after messenger was sent to the Russian Tsar, but without any response. Napoleon might have been a thousand miles away in Egypt or Spain for all the notice that was officially taken of him in Russia.

The Russian army distrusted Barclay de Tolly, and the veteran Kutuzov was made General-in-Chief of the armies.

The white haired Kutuzov was seventy years old ; he had lost the use of one eye from a bullet, he had none of the fire of Bagration, nor the German military science of Barclay de Tolly ; yet there was universal joy throughout Russia when he was named General-in-Chief, and that joy was nobly justified.

To the generalship and prestige of Napoleon, Kutuzov opposed a rare wisdom and mature experience, heroic endurance, and devotion to his country and to her people. When he joined the Russian army, the soldiers were overjoyed, for they at last hoped to give battle to the invader. But to the bewilderment of the army, Kutuzov began his command by ordering a further retreat, and the Russian army, entirely ignorant of his end or object, followed him reluctantly, yet full of devotion and confidence in his superior wisdom.

The feeling of hatred to the invader in the Russian army grew till it became a religious enthusiasm, and at last Kutuzov determined to fight at Borodino.

Borodino was fought on 26th August ; it was nominally a victory to the French, but a victory more deadly than defeat, Borodino was the death-blow to Napoleon, and the real turning point in the history of Europe.

Though Napoleon marched on towards Moscow after Borodino, the French Army never recovered itself ; "Like a huge monster that has received a deadly wound, yet still moves onward, dragged by its own weight and momentum."

On the second of September, six days after Borodino, Napoleon's Army came in sight of Moscow, and halted. The next morning Napoleon and his generals waited on an eminence above the city for the deputation from Count Rostopchin, the Governor of Moscow, to deliver up the keys of the city on a golden tray, with the ceremony that Napoleon loved so

well. Hours passed, but no deputation arrived. At last a few French and Italian colonists came from the city, and announced to Napoleon the terrible news that Moscow was deserted.

The night before, every one who could walk had left the city, but had left it a deadly prize for the victor. All the corn had been thrown into the river ; all food supplies, clothing, firewood, grain had been withdrawn from the city. That morning of the third of September, the world's conqueror looked down on Moscow with its fair streets and bridges ; the Kremlin with its white towers and golden domes shining in the sun, and the gorgeous palaces of the Tsars, lying at his feet, a sight more splendid than the Pyramids. But the world's conqueror, as he gazed at Moscow, a rich, unresisting spoil at his feet, as he listened to the terrible news of the French colonists, must have felt that his star was declining, soon to set for ever.

At last the order was given to enter the gates, and the French soldiers, already exasperated by suffering, soon broke away from discipline, and began to pillage the city. Wine they found in plenty ; silver dishes, and gilded furniture, but not a sack of corn, not a loaf of bread. All had been destroyed by the Russians themselves—a costly sacrifice to their beloved country. Napoleon again tried fruitlessly to open up negotiations with Alexander by promises and threats, but both were absolutely ignored.

That night, the third of September, Napoleon was driven from his new abode in the Palace of the Tsars by the flames of the Kremlin, which soon completed the ruin that the Russians had begun. Moscow was burned in pursuance of a definite plan of national self-sacrifice, that Kutuzov's wisdom had designed, and Kutuzov's influence alone could have brought into execution.

Needless to recapitulate the well known incidents of Bonaparte's retreat. The wolf who had thought to sacrifice the sheep, had himself been sacrificed to his own ambition and cruelty. His "skin" was left in hostage in the Kremlin, and is there to this day. In a wide court-yard, lie rows upon rows of his cannon, stamped with N., surmounted by a French imperial crown, to show how Napoleon conquered Moscow in 1812.

In 1812 Krilov was appointed Librarian in the Imperial Public Library at St. Petersburg ; there he remained till 1841 three years before his death, writing nothing but fables. He lived in a little room, full of bookshelves, at the top of the Imperial Library. Year after year the dust was religiously allowed to accumulate. A flock of pigeons used to come in

at his window and sleep on his bookshelves, or on the top of his pictures.

There, from his breezy outpost, surrounded by a chaos of books, papers, and dust, Krilov looked down on the busy world beneath him with philosophic toleration and amity, and there, year after year, he added a few more fables to his collection.

His chaotic study had many wise and charming visitors besides his pigeons. The St. Petersburg men of letters used to meet and discuss their works with benevolent Grandfather Krilov. One day Mme. Olenina, the wife of the President of the Academy, came and found Krilov sitting amongst his books, pigeons and papers ; above his head, a heavily framed portrait being hung perilously by a trusty wire.

Mme. Olenina startled Krilov by trying, with a cry of terror, to drag him from his seat, and pointing to the Damocles portrait above his head—

“ Madame, pray do not alarm yourself,” remonstrated Krilov. “ Observe that the curve of the parabola which the picture will follow in its fall, will carry it safe over my head to the floor as I sit here ? ”

A few of Krilov’s fables are translations from Æsop or La Fontaine, but, in translating, he made the fables his own : he gives to the fables that peculiar colour and aroma which is his great charm, and which is so hard to preserve in a translation.

Compare the French of La Fontaine :

*Maitre Corbeau, sur un arbre perché,
Tenait dans son bec un fromage ;
Maitre Renard, par l’odeur aléché,
Lui tint à peu près ce language :—
—“ Eh ! monsieur du Corbeau,
Que vous êtes joli ! que vous me semblez beau !
Si votre ramage
Se rapporte à votre plumage
Vous êtes le phénix de ces lieux. . . .*

And so forth, with Krilov’s quaint, homely, natural verse ; and we cannot but feel that his work is not a translation, but an original.

Krilov renders the fable thus :—

THE CROW AND THE FOX.

God, in his goodness, sent a crow some cheese.

The crow, alighted on a pine,

And, having settled there to dine,

With cheese in beak, fell thinking by degrees.

Just then, alas ! a fox came trotting past,

And smelt the cheese. Its odour held him fast,

Quite fascinated. On the branch he spied
 The crow, and up on tiptoe creeping,—
 —Tail wagging—through the branches peeping—
 With scarce-drawn breath, he softly cried—
 “ My little dove ! how sweet you are !
 What eyes ! and what a glossy neck !
 What feathers ! what a lovely beak.
 If any to describe should dare—
 Who would believe him ? I dare wager, sweet !
 Your voice is pure angelic : sing my pet !
 Pray don’t be shy—for if you sing,
 And are as tuneful
 As you’re beautiful,
 Then you must be of fowls the king.
 The bird of presage swallowed down the praise,
 And lost her head. With pleasure half distraught,
 She then prepared her song to raise,
 And cawed as mother Nature taught,
 Down fell the cheese, the crafty fox
 Seized it and fled amongst the rocks.

In the Summer Garden in St. Petersburg stands a handsome statue of Krilov. The spot is a pleasant one ; quiet, and unfrequented, except by children, who love to come and play there, and build sand-castles at the foot of his pedestal. All round it are sculptured Krilov’s foxes and wolves and crows, the heroes and heroines of his fables—a never-ceasing joy to the children. One morning was found stuck to the pedestal the following inscription—

“ —Father Krilov stands on his pedestal, and looks down at the children playing. He looks and thinks,—Dear little animals, how prettily you play there : Dear little animals ! what beasts you will be when you grow up ! ”

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

ART. III.—ON SOME NAMES OF PLACES IN BIHAR : THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

EVERY one who has taken the trouble to enquire into the origin and history of the names of places in Bihar, must have been struck by the variety of their sources. Names aboriginal, Aryan, Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Muhammadan, and even European, are found scattered broadcast, furnishing clear landmarks of the successive influences that have been at work to produce them. Even if such ancient historical records of Bihar as we possess were to be swept away, it would still be possible, with the help of these landmarks, supplemented by the monumental inscriptions to be met with in the Province, to say with tolerable accuracy what different people have at various periods of its history held sway or exercised their influence in Bihar. Trench says, in his *Study of Words* :— “ Any one with skill to analyse the language might recreate for himself the history of the people speaking that language, might with tolerable accuracy appreciate the divers elements out of which that people was composed, in what proportion these were mingled, and in what succession they followed one upon the other.” From names of places to names of things is only another step. An examination of them also unfolds, in a marked manner, the various nations whose tongues have mingled to make the common Indian language what it is now. We have reminiscences of the Turks, Moghuls, Portuguese, Dutch, and French having been in India, in such words as ‘*bandūk*’ (gun), ‘*Khānsāmā*’ (table servant *lit.* : ‘Lord of the stores’), ‘*chābi*’ (key), ‘*godown*’, ‘*tauliya*’, ‘*verandah*’, ‘*bajro*’, ‘*bhaolio*’, ‘*pāon roti*’ (leavened bread), *girja* and many others. The names of cities, towns, wards, rivers, etc., would at first sight appear to defy classification by their diversified character, and to be almost bewildering in their multifarious nationality. But a little patient study will show that there are distinct and clearly-defined stratifications marking the different epochs in their history. The scope of this paper does not include this highly interesting phase of the subject. Our present concern is simply to point out a few interesting facts connected with the names of places, and their accepted origin and derivation.

The study of names of places is full of interest, as there has almost always been some reason for giving them. Apart from the importance of the subject from a philological point

of view, it has a historical bearing of no less significance than weight. In speaking of names of places, Archbishop Trench says: "Nowhere do we so easily forget that names had once a peculiar fitness, which was the occasion of their giving." The unearthing of such reasons often affords a clue to the discovery of important and interesting historical, physical and geographical facts, which throw considerable side light on a people's previous history. Taking the names of a few of the chief towns of the Bihar districts, we learn that *Darbhanga* was the 'gateway' of Bengal (*Dar-i-Bangāla*)* and was thus the eastern limit of Bihar proper. The main road from Darbhanga through Purneah was probably the high-way at the Bihar extremity of which stood this "Gate of Bengal." The other account, ascribing the origin of the name to one Darbhangi Khan, is, on the face of it, improbable, for it is not a Moslem name, and the probabilities are that the *Khān*, who either held the place or lived there, took his name from it. *Madhubani*, one of the sub-divisions of Darbhanga, was the so-called 'Honey forest'—this being a fancy name given to a favourite wood. We have similar instances of the poetic element in such names as *Brindāban* (a collection of forests), *Nandanban* (the joy-producing forest), *Ashokban* (the forest free from sorrows), and *Pramodeban* (the delectable forest). The word *ban* (forest, wood) must not be interpreted too literally, and understood to mean a dense, uninhabitable jungle, but rather a woody locality, a pleasant tope of trees, such as we find even now in most of the Bihar districts. *Tajpore*, another sub-division of this district, no doubt takes its name from a Mohamedan, probably the same man (one of the two brothers) who gave the name to the tank in Hajipore called "Tāj Bāj-ka pōkhra." These were Afghan settlers in the district who, according to tradition, held *Jāgirs* in various parts of Hajipur *Sarkar*, which included in those days the south of Darbhanga also.

Mozafferpur is of comparatively recent origin. The name does not appear in the settlements of 1790. Many years before the Company's accession to the Diwāni, "Mozaffer Khan, who was the Amil or Collector of Chakla" Nai, selected 75 bighas of land from the village of *Sikandarpur* on the north, *Kanauli* on the east, *Sayyidpur* on the south, and *Saryāgunj* on the west, and called the land after his own name." In 1817 it only contained 667 houses, of which 408 paid no rent, the total assessment amounting to £39-18s. *Sitamarhi* has a legend attached to it which associates it with the birth of Sita (also called Janaki), the devoted wife of Rama and daughter

* In Bengali Darbhanga is still spelt দার়বাংগ।

of King Janaka, who was the ruler of the ancient kingdom of *Mithila*. It is said that one day, as Raja Janaki was ploughing the field on which certain rites were to be performed, he drove the ploughshare into an earthen pot from which sprang the lovely Sita. Another story points to a tank, still extant, as her birthplace, and a tradition is still current of how she arose from it one morning, while Raja Janaka was engaged in his ablutions. Several other temples, besides that dedicated to Sita, are still to be seen in Sitamarhi. Another village, however, called Panora, three miles south-west of Sitamarhi, also claims the honour. But *Sita*, in Sanskrit, is "plough-furrow," and this legend must give way to the "plough-birth" story. It seems to have been the custom in the days of the Ramayana, when a site was being devoted for any sacred purpose, to plough it as a purifying ceremony, and king Janaka was engaged in one of these pious acts. *Hajipur*, which was the head-quarters of *Sarkar* Hajipur in the reign of Akbar, and a most important place from its commanding situation, was founded by Haji Iliyās, known also as Shams-uddin and Haji Harmaen, from his great piety and frequent pilgrimages to Mecca. He was a servant of Alauddin, Governor of Bengal, and afterwards became the commander of his forces, and requited the kindness of his master by treacherously killing him. His grave is still pointed out to the south-east of the Gunduck Bridge, and held in great veneration by both Musalman and Hindu inhabitants of the town. It is visited by large numbers of pilgrims from the district, especially women, who, it is said, find a fulfilment of their wishes in propitiating this saint, and come in crowds with votive offerings. Annually, in January, a large gathering, or *mela*, is also held near the tomb of the saint presumably on the anniversary of the *Haji*'s death. The old mosque, not far from it (and adjoining the present residence of the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent there), was built, not by the *Haji*, as mentioned in Dr. Hunter's Statistical Account, but long after him, by Maksud Shah, probably in 1587, as the Hindi inscription in Persian character on the stone gateway would seem to indicate.* This Maksud Shah

* From the following chronogram the date of the mosque is deduced:—

*Surpat lochan taen haro,
Man math bān bichār,
San Masjid Maksud ki,
Jadi naddi pur sār.*

i., e., "From 1000 (represented by the thousand eyes of King Indra, Surpat) take away 5 (represented by the five arrows of *manmath*, Cupid) the result will give the date of this mosque, built by Maksud on the bank of the ancient river" (i.e., the Gunduck). This gives us 1095 A. H. which, converted into A. D., gives $1095 \times 97 \times 622.5 = 1587$. It may seem curious that a Hindi inscription, with allusions to Hindu Gods, should be on a

also gave the name of Maksūdpur to the adjacent village now a part of Hajipur.

And here we may remark in passing, that the Hajipur Sub-division is studded with villages and towns bearing Muhammadan names, showing how completely they had identified themselves with the places of their conquest. They not only lived in them, but re parcelled the lands, giving them their own national names ; they not only built new cities, towns and villages, but re-named those in existence. About 65 per cent. of the villages in the Hajipur Sub-division bear names of Muhammadan origin. Even the names of different *mahallas*, or wards, in the town of Hajipur (which was said, at one time, to be twenty miles across from east and west, and eight miles from north and south) have a Moslem ring, principally of Pathan origin. For example *Khatak Toli*, *Lodipur*, *Yusafpur*, &c., distinctly point to the *Khatak*, *Lodi*, and *Yusafzai* clans of Afghans living in them ; while *Mufti-Mahalla* bears evidence to the large number of *Kazis*, or *Muftis*, necessary for the administration of the religious law. Similarly, the suburban wards of *Maniyarpur* (inhabited by those who set stones and carved on metals), *Jawāhir Tola*, (inhabited by jewellers), *Chhipi Tola* (inhabited by those who printed on country cloth, &c.), bear witness to the former wealth and fashion of Hajipur. It is not difficult to account for this preponderance of Moslem names. Before 1575 Bengal and Behar had not been fairly subjugated by the Moghuls, and were filled with Afghan settlers. Their number had recently received an accession by the retreat of those Pathans who had refused to join the service of the Moghuls. These had principally settled around the nucleus already formed in Hajipur. Then, again, when Daud Khān (usually called Bangāli), the son of Sulaimān Kulbāni (not 'Kerani' as some accounts have it) had raised the standard of revolt, and, after destroying the fort of Patna, had taken up his quarters in the Hajipur Fort, a *fīrmān* was sent from Akbar to Muniam Khan, Khan Khanan, ordering him to punish Daud and take possession of Bihar. At the same time a number of Pathan sardars (who had continued loyal to the Moghuls), along with many Moghul chiefs, were ordered down to assist Khan Khanan in the work of

Muhammadan mosque ; but tradition has it that over each of the three door-ways there was an inscription in a different language. The Arabic over the front door-way can still be read here and there, though very much defaced by time. Perhaps it was a conciliating policy that the Muhammadans observed in drawing upon the Hindu mythology for their inscriptions. This, at any rate, was the least return they could make for despoiling the Hindu temples of their rich materials and utilizing them for building Musalman mosques.

chastising the rebels. As frequently happened under the Muhammadan Government, these chiefs and sardars, who had assisted in establishing the Imperial authority, were granted lands and *Jāgirs* in the Hajipur sarkar, and they settled finally here with their followers. Subsequently (1579), on their revolting, Azim Khan (the successor of Todar Mal, the great financier), who was deputed to quell the rebellion, appears to have bought off the chiefs (Moghuls as well as Pathans) by continuing to them the lands they had hitherto enjoyed and granting fresh *Jāgirs*. Thus a host of petty Musalman chiefs, Pathans and Moghuls, with their followers, permanently settled round about Patna, but chiefly in the Hajipur Sarkar.

As well known, Akbar followed up his *fīrmān* to Khan Khanan (alluded to above) by coming down to Patna himself. A curious incident connected with his visit is related by the author of *Sair-ul-Mutakhirin*, which is not usually mentioned in English Histories of India. Awed by the presence of the imperial army Daud sued for peace, when Akbar, unwilling to gain a cheap victory over one who had aspired to independence, is said to have magnanimously sent an offer to accept one of the three following means of deciding to whose dominions Bihar should be annexed. He invited Daud to a single combat, or to depute a wrestler who should meet an imperial wrestler, or to send a fighting elephant which should cope with an imperial animal, and on the issue of this single combat, victory should be declared to the side whose combatant won. Whether this was done by Akbar really to avoid bloodshed, or to gain time, is not clear. The latter would seem to be the more probable surmise, as the *Sair* goes on to say that, while this parleying was proceeding, owing to Daud hesitating, Akbar took possession of the Hajipur fort by a sudden move, and at the same time invaded Patna. But an adventurous spirit was always present in Akbar, and personal prowess was highly valued by him. Besides, he never lost a chance of gaining the favour of the populace, and nothing would more effectually secure this than a proposal of the nature he is said to have made. This *coup-de-main*, however, seems to have decided the fate of the two provinces of Bengal and Bihar, and Daud fled to Orissa after his defeat.

It is a curious fact that hardly a river in Bihar bears a Muhammadan name. It is not difficult to account for this. Rivers are more ancient than towns and less plastic: they cannot be chopped and changed at will: names once given to them become stereotyped. There is nothing to be gained by naming and re-naming a river in the same way as it is found profitable to do in settling and re-settling lands. Hence perhaps the Musalman conquerors troubled themselves little about changing the ancient names of rivers. The same, we find, is

the case in regard to Indian mountains, hills and rocks : their names are mostly of a non-Persian origin, and have been borne by them as far back as ancient records can carry us, though they are very often corrupted and mispronounced, sometimes hopelessly beyond recognition, owing to the attrition of usage in passing through the heterogeneous media of varying tongues.

Champāran (*Champā-āranya*) is a forest of *Champa* (flower) trees, and *Motihāri*, its district head-quarters, is "a necklace of pearls." Both might have been poetic names suggested by imagination and helped by their environments, but those who know *Motihāri*, with its pretty lake nearly encompassing it, like a pure, white garland, will not fail to appreciate the poetic sense that was brought into play in thus happily styling it "a necklet of pearls." *Bettiah* (its sub-division and the seat of the Bettiah Raj) was a place known for its cane (*bent*) jungle. Even now cane of a superior quality can be found along the banks of the *Chandrāwat*, on which the city stands, and the other hill streams that intersect the Sub-division. *Chapra*, on the surface, is from *Chhappar*, 'a roof.' A story is related of a *Jogi* who lived here in a tiled house and hence the name. Until lately it was unusual to see a tiled house in the north Gangetic districts ; the riparian towns and hamlets especially were devoid of houses with tiled roofs. For this reason a village possessing a tiled roof was an object of note. Parallel examples of this are frequently to be met with in the north districts of Bihar, where it is even now not uncommon to see an entire village consisting of huts with only thatched roofs.* The two Sub-divisional head-quarters of the Chapra district, namely, *Aligunj* and *Gopalgunj*, bear their meaning on the surface, as being the two marts, or "collections of houses," called after Ali and Gopal, who most probably helped to establish them. Similarly *Patna* was "The City" (*Patan*). The site of ancient Patna is a real bone of contention among Indian antiquarians. All possible directions (in relation to the present situation of the city) have been affirmed to be that of the original site. Some have said it was to the north, some south, some east, some west, and some indeed (supported by excavations) have all but proved that the old city lies buried underground. There

* We have villages called *Dhūki chhāpar*, *Dain chhāpar*, &c. The reason that prevented the people in the north Gangetic districts from putting tiled roofs to their houses, was the liability of the country to frequent inundations from the many rivers that intersect it in their downward course to the Ganges from the Himalayas, especially from such rivers as the *Gunduck*, the *Bāgmatti*, &c., before their protecting embankments were constructed. The people lived in constant fear, and ready to shift their huts at the shortest notice. Compare with this fact the use of the word *Chhaparband* ('with a tiled roof') which applies to "resident cultivators" (Grierson), i.e., those who have a fixed tenure with no intention of decamping.

is only one side of the imaginary cube remaining to be occupied, namely the "upper" side; and perhaps some imaginative archæologist may yet be found to assign an aerial habitation to this ancient city. Patna has been called at various stages of its history *Kusumapura*, *Padamvati*, *Pushpapuri*, *Palibothra*, *Pataliputra* and *Patna*. Amidst all this confusion one thing seems certain, that there was an ancient town on the right bank of the Ganges, at the present site or somewhere near it. Whether the present site was exactly its situation when visited by Megasthenes (about 300 B. C.), or by the Chinese Pilgrims (in the 5th and 7th centuries), or whether it extended further in any other direction, cannot be satisfactorily settled now. Ruins are to be found on three sides of the town, which would indicate that at one time the city extended in all these directions. Not long ago the prow of a boat was found very deep underground in digging a well to the south of the city, which would, perhaps, indicate that a stream flowed past the city on that side. We know that *Rājgir* (*Rāja-grihā*, the same as the *Girivraja* of the *Rāmayāna*) which was the ancient capital of *Māgadha*, was abandoned in the time of King Asoka, who removed his court to *Pātaliputra*. It continued, with some interruption, to be the chief town of Bihār during the Muhammadan period, * and in the early days of the British it contained one of their principal factories. It has thus a prescriptive right to claim the title of "the city."

Dinapur and *Bankipur* are comparatively very modern towns. The former, it is supposed, takes its name from a certain man called *Dīna* who lived there; and the latter (among other suppositions) is said to be derived from *Bānkepur*, or "the town of the fashionable," on account of its being the part of the town where women of ill-fame resided, and where coxcombs and gaily dressed men took their airing. This surmise would seem to be correct from the following common saying: *Gānhi men dām nān, Bankipur ka Sair* (a variation of it is *paisa nān kauri, Bankipur ka Sair*), i. e., "He has not a *damri* in his pocket (lit: waist-cloth), yet he would go to saunter about in Bankipur." In Dr. Buchanan's time a provincial battalion was stationed in Bankipur, and probably this may also have helped to make the town what it was, and earned for it its name of being a fashionable promenade for gay young men. *Bārh*, one of its Sub-divisional head-quarters, marks the spot liable to frequent inundations from the flood, or 'rise' (*barh*), of the Ganges. Here the river takes a sharp

* It would appear that during the early period of the Muhammadan rule, the seat of the local Government was in Bihār, and that it was Sher Shah who built the Patna fort and transferred the capital to Patna in 1541, see *Tewarikh-i-Daudi*, quoted in Elliot's History of India.

turn to the north-east, and, as usually happens at the windings and turnings of this mighty river, whenever it rises in flood, it overflows its banks. Within living memory the place has been so inundated, that residents of *pucca* two storeyed houses have had to step into a boat from the upper floor. *Bihar* (another of its Sub-divisions), which gives the name to the whole province, was no doubt at one time rich in Buddhist temples (*Viharas.*) Rajgir and Nalanda, the two strong-holds of Buddhism were within a few miles of it, and the surrounding country abounded with Buddhist monasteries and temples. It is now called by the Muhammadans the "revered city" ("*Bihar Sharif*"), owing to the tombs of many revered Muhammadan saints being there, especially that of Makhdūn Shāh Sharf-uddin. It is now the home of many respectable Muhammadan gentlemen, and contains many interesting ruins.

Gaya is said to be derived from a *rakshas*, or demon, of that name, who was rewarded for his devotion by Brahma with the power of granting absolution to the dead. This greatly interfered with the influence of the other deities whose legitimate function this seems to have been, and therefore they got Vishnu to slay him by placing a stone on his forehead and trampling on it. This stone, with the footprint of Vishnu ("*Bishunpad*"), is pointed out to every devotee who goes to Gaya on a pilgrimage. Thornton, in his *Gazetteer of India*, says that the present European quarters were included in the part of the town originally called *Elahābād* which, on being much enlarged by law, was named *Sahebgunjé*. *Nawāda* and *Aurangābād* (the two Sub-divisional head-quarters) are of Muhammadan origin, namely, the town newly populated and the town founded by Aurangzeb. *Jahānābād**, another Sub-division of Gaya, has a similar origin, "the city of Shāh Jahān."

Arrah (from *aranya*, 'jungle') bears testimony, as many other names do in Bihar, to the fact that it was reclaimed from the jungles, which extended much further north than the present wilds of *Palamow* and *Sarguja*. A mythical account would connect the name with the legend that a great *Rakshas*, or demon, of the name of *Arak*, dwelt here as sentinel, whose business it was to prevent acts of devotion in this world, such as pilgrimages to the holy shrines of Gaya. *Shahabad* was the name given to it in Muhammadan times, when it became "a city of the king." *Shasseraṁ* was, *Shah Serāe* or "the Inn of the king," *Sher Shah*, who made a "four months" road from Bengal to the fort of *Rohtas* in the Punjab (called by

* *Abad*, which in Persian means "people," is used in composition in the sense of 'city,' 'town' or 'village.'

him after *Rohtās-gar* in the south of *Shasserām*). A part of this road is now known as the Grand Trunk Road. The author of the *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, speaking of this road from personal knowledge in 1595 (about half a century after it was constructed), says that it was planted with rows of trees on either side for shade, and that inns were built at every stage for weary travellers, where both Hindus and Musalmans could find accommodation and suitable attendants, and the poor, free quarters and provisions. Pucca wells were sunk along the road at convenient distances for the thirsty, and mosques were built at intervals for the pious wayfarer. A big kettle drum (*nagara*), at stated hours, announced to the hungry wayfarer that the great Shah had sat down to his meals, at which moment his repast was also served out to the traveller by proper caste attendants. The *Zubda-ul-Tawārikh* mentions the great security that prevailed in travelling during the reign of this monarch, who made a law that the head man of the village in which a traveller was robbed, would be subjected to a heavy fine, and the fear of this caused the zemindars to keep a watch and to patrol the roads at night. The origin of the name of *Bhabhuā* (another Sub-division of of Shahabad) is not quite clear. Perhaps some adjunct is now left out. It might have been *Babua-gānon* or the village where the "Babus," or the high caste lived, as distinguished from the abode of the low caste, which is always separate.

Natural objects have always been a prolific source from which places have derived their names. Every nation has drawn on it in naming its places, but nowhere, perhaps, has this been done more than in India. To take one class of natural objects, namely trees and plants, we find that nearly all the trees to be commonly met with in the province are laid under contribution. For example, names derived from the following fruit and other trees will readily occur to all who are familiar with Bihar, *Am*, *Jāmun*, *Bar*, *Barhar*, *Pipar*, *Bair*, *Kathar*, *Mahuā*, *Bel*, *Tār*, *Khajūr*, *Sihōre*, *Bāns*, *Hardi*, *Jhauā*, *Sakhua*, *Sissu*, *Siris*, *Mircha*, and so forth, through nearly all the flora to be met with in the inhabited tracts. While rivers, hills and hillocks have contributed their share of local names, salient physical peculiarities of outward nature have also been laid hold of to identify villages ; and though these peculiarities can hardly be said to form now the prominent features of the places, yet they must have done so at the time these names were given. Thus *Tānr*, or *Tār*, extensive waste, or unproductive land, *mehi* 'hollow,' *pokhar* 'tank', *gar* 'fortress,' 'elevation,' or 'high mound,' *ghat* 'pass,' 'river bank,' *chak* 'a parcel', etc., are usually joined as terminals with other words, forming self explanatory compounds. As examples of the above may be mentioned *Mahua*, a police station in the Hajipur Sub-division, the prominent feature of

which is still the *mahua* tree from the flower of which is distilled the country spirit, and *Sherghatti*, properly *shahr-e-ghati*, or 'the city at the end of the ghat, or pass.' As you descend the Chutia-Nagpore plateau, the first city you meet with after traversing the wild jungle scenery of the ghats, is the old city on the Grand Trunk Road, now abandoned as a sub-divisional head quarters, but at one time a very important place. *Harnatānr* (in Champarun) bears testimony to having once been a small hamlet in the middle of an extensive prairie, or waste land, which was the home of antelopes and deer, as *Asadpur-mehibhara*, in Tirhut, shows that the original site of the place was a hollow, or the old bed of a river. The name of Tirhut itself bears testimony to the fertility of its soil, and the fact that it was considered its leading feature even in the days of old, when its sponsors felt justified in calling it 'Fertile to the very brink' (*Tir bhukti*). The peculiar applicability of the name, derived from its geographical configuration, will be realized when it is remembered that this productive region was comprised in the ancient kingdom of *Mithila*, which was bounded on three sides by rivers—on the west by the Gunduck, on the south by the Ganges, and on the east by the Kosi. Thus to say that the land was fertile (literally capable of yielding food) to the edge of the above rivers, implied that every inch of it was rich and capable of sustaining life. Similarly, peculiarities of produce, of situation or physical history, are seized and brought into prominence in the names of places derived from natural sources. For example *Sāthi*, an indigo factory 15 miles north of Bettiah, in Champarun, takes its name from a peculiar kind of red rice called *sathi*, largely grown in those parts, because it ripens in 'sixty' days from sowing. This is expressed in the following Behar proverb :—

*Sathi pāke sath din
Barkha hokhe rāt din.*

" *Sathi* (rice) ripens in 60 days if it rains night and day."

Lall Saraiya, the well known indigo factory of Mr. James Macleod, indicates its situation in the neighbourhood of the Red *Saraiya*, or *sareh*, i. e., the belt of land furthest from the village. *Khagoal*, the present Railway Station of Dinapore, records the fact that it was at one time the old bed of a river, which on changing its course, left the channel high and dry (*Khagoal*).*

* It is an ascertained fact that the river Sone flowed into the Ganges at a point very much further east than it does now. Some have even said that it discharged its waters into the Ganges below Patna. There can be little doubt that at a later period the former mouth of the Sone was near Dinapur, and its channel ran through *Khagoal*. There is a stream that flows past Dinapur to the west still called Sone.

Next we will cite a few instances of names of places that embody some incident, circumstance, or aspect under which, at some former period, men learned to regard them. Some of these are as comical as they are laconic. For example, *Bag-nochwa*, where the tiger or leopard mauled some body, *Kukur-bhukka*, where the dogs perpetually yelp (this name may be fitly applied to many villages even now); *Chati-pakar—chichia*, the place where some robbers rudely laid hands on the person of a woman and caused her to scream in fright; *Jhajharpur*, the village of quarrels and fights. *Adh-Kaparia*, the village of "half a headache," probably from the founder having this complaint, the '*brow ague*,' a form of neuralgia which affects only one side of the forehead, etc. Some places preserve in their names the record of practices now obsolete, such as *Amarpur maraoti* (in Shahabad, south of *Dhamar*) which tells us that it was given as blood money, for some one who was killed, just as, in Persia, villages and lands that were given away as rewards or compensation to the relatives of those who were killed in the service of their masters, were styled *Khun baha* ('blood price'). This name, in its corrupt form (*Khuba* or *Kuba*), is still to be met with in Bihar. Thus, the two varieties of the same word in different languages tell us clearly what was the nationality of the parties concerned, or, at any rate, of the donor. Similarly the name *Inglis* (used now as equivalent to pension) records the custom, so foreign to India, and introduced by the English, of granting money pensions. These, in olden days, very often took the shape of grants of villages and lands free of rent, as rewards for service, instead of what we now call 'pension'. * Several villages of this name are scattered over Bihar, though in most cases their ownership has passed into other hands than those of the original recipients or pensioners. These were mostly sepoys or non-commissioned native officers who had worked well in the service of the East India Company. Sometimes a word will preserve, in its peculiar and restricted use, a certain fact of history, and hand it down from generation to generation without attracting notice. *Sheikh matha ki garri*, in Patna, now converted into a pleasant promenade round a pretty lake, and known as 'Mangles Tank, *Mangal Talao*,† was at one time literally what is implied by the name it bears—the 'hole' or 'hollow,' of one Sheikh Matha, a deserter from

* The strange assimilative faculty of the Hindi has assigned to this English name an appropriate meaning. *Mangal* in Hindi means 'enjoyment, 'pleasure,' hence it is appropriately called "The Pleasure Tank."

† Carnegie in his "Kachahri Technicalities" thus defines, "Inglis, a pension, probably a corruption of English, as pensions were unknown among native governments, whose rewards invariably took the shape of land assignments."

the army of Sheikh Islam Makshud. This sepoy is said to have taken up his abode in the place, and levied blackmail from the potters who dug there for earth. He also monopolised the brick-making trade round about the 'hole.' Before his time it was a fine tank, according to local tradition ; but when the Muhammadans took Patna, many Hindus and their families drowned themselves in it. It was therefore abandoned and became filled up in course of time. This 'hole' is probably the same as the tank spoken of by Dr. Buchanan, as being "a huge pond in the rainy months and very dirty and offensive in the dry season."

Padri ki Haveli (the old Roman Catholic Church* in the city of Patna) was, no doubt, from its name, regarded by the people as a sort of seraglio of the priests. The nuns who lived secluded within the high walls of the church, were undoubtedly considered by the people as the "female belongings" of the 'padris.' The word *haveli* in Persian simply means a "building," a 'house ;' but in its Indian use it has been (by a similar restriction to that of the Turkish word 'seraglio') appropriated to signify the building, or part of the building, occupied by the women. So that now *haveli*, in popular Hindustani, has come to mean the female members of a native gentleman's family ; and it is the polite fashion, in asking a respectable native after the welfare of his family, to use the word *haveli*. This restricted use of the term is traceable in the names of certain pergannas, which are called '*Havelis*,' from the fact that their revenues were set apart for the use of the female members of the household. In Hindi we meet with an exactly corresponding use of the word *deori*, or 'gate,' which, in its current use, is entirely limited to the female department of a respectable Hindu's house.

It has been truly said that "poetry and passion continually preside at the giving of names." It would be highly interesting to draw together a collection of Indian names that embody poetry, that are quaint or fantastic in conception and romantic in their form : we should doubtless be struck by their number. We can only attempt to give a few instances of this poetry in names. *Doranda*, the well known military station of Ranchi (Chutia Nagpur), and separated from it by a hill stream which gives it the name, is an instance of the poetic name. It literally means, in the language of the Kols, "the singing waters," from the words

* The Catholic Mission appears to have been established in Patna in 1713 after the priests were expelled from Nepaul. The Patna Catholic Church has a bell presented to it by a Nepaul prince, Bahadur Shah, (son of Prithi Narain), who seems to have been favourably inclined towards Christianity.

dorang and *dāh*, reminding one of Longfellow's 'Hiawatha.' Those who have watched a hill torrent in those parts, will remember the rapidity with which it comes down all of a sudden, filling its pebbly channel almost brimful in a short time, and then as quickly subsiding. They will also remember that, as "the murmuring surge that on the unnumbered pebbles chafe" rolls over its uneven bed, the pebbles, shingles and stones keep on rolling with it, and, chafing against one another, cause the rippling noise which, to an imaginative people like the Kols, would sound "like many voices sweet" singing at a distance. There could be no better imaginative description of the action of this stream; and the man who first called it "the singing stream," was no doubt inspired with the true spirit of poetry. Similarly, he who named the hill (near the *Barābar* caves in Gaya), on the summit of which a piece of rock is held in suspension, looking for all the world as if it were placed there designedly, and the least touch would cause it to fall, "*Kaua dol*," or the rock that oscillates when a crow alights on it, must have been a man of some poetic imagination. The bad quality of the water of many places, especially in the districts north of the Ganges, is a frequent source of disease among the natives. Goitre and fever-producing places are known by such names, and regarded with superstitious awe. But it was left to the man who named *Bela-Moch-Pakawni* in Darbhanga (or such a *Bela* as causes the moustache, (that appendage of manhood which a native takes most pride in) to turn gray, to put a truly humorous touch to this feeling. The effect of unwholesome water in causing the hair to become gray is popularly believed in by the natives; and perhaps there is some truth in it, curious as it may appear to us. He who first called a natural channel in the north of Champarun, which drains the surrounding plain, by the quaint name of *Kanghichwā*, or "one that drags the surrounding water by the ear," must be acknowledged to have been possessed of at least a rude poetic genius, not without a touch of humour. Grotesque as the name may seem to us, its singular applicability, despite its bold metaphor, will be better understood when we say, that no name could be devised to express more fitly the absolute necessity of adhering to the natural gradient of the land in constructing artificial irrigation channels. Water taken on any other line but this natural outlet was forcibly dragged into it, as it were, 'by the ear'. Repeated failures in diverting the out-flow had taught the men this fact, that do what they might, the drainage of the surrounding country had to find its way into the adjacent river by this channel, which had been cut by the natural action of rain water. The intervening fields were annually cut up,

their boundaries and ridges had to be repaired and put up after every rainy season. This annually recurring annoyance they attributed not so much to the water, which was simply led 'by the ear,' but to this demon of a channel, which dragged it towards itself ; and they aptly termed it the 'ear puller' !

Of superstitious names, and those with legends, we have almost a superabundance. Almost every town or city of any note has some popular story to account for its origin, some superstition connected with it, to give it an odour of sanctity. No matter how odd the story, or how extravagant the demand on popular faith, the legends are handed down from generation to generation and believed by the people. In many cases the name has suggested the legend, and not the legend the name. As an instance of this, may be mentioned the story accounting for the name of *Hazrat Jandahā*, a well-known town in the Sub-division of Hajipur. The revered Musalman saint whose tomb is still pointed out there, and who gave the name to the town and the river that flows past it, was known as Diwan Shah Ali. It is said that, one hot summer day, he felt very thirsty, and asked a by-stander to fetch him some water. The man was rude enough to reply that there was no water to be had close by ; whereupon the Shah got very angry, and, in his anger, called on the waters to flow that way, saying, *Biah* (Persian) 'come.' Immediately a river began to approach the place, cutting furiously the intervening land, and causing devastation and ruin to thousands of villages as it advanced. This so terrified the neighbouring people, that they came in a body and implored the Shah to have pity on them and cause the river to cease cutting their lands. He then called out *Jaudah* 'don't drown,' and the river stopped encroaching and began to flow quietly in its present channel. Thus the river was called *Bāyah* and the town *Jandaha*. Why the venerated saint should have invoked the river in Persian and forbidden its approach in Behari, is not explained. This Diwan Shah Ali was himself the subject of a miracle, performed on him in his infancy by his uncle, who was equally remarkable for his miraculous powers. His name was Makhdum Shah Abul Fateh, and he lived in Hajipur, where his tomb is still pointed out in *Tangoal*. It is said that, on one occasion, during one of his fits of ecstasy, which lasted for long periods at a time, he threw his nephew, Shah Ali, who was only six days old, into the river Gunduck, calling on the river saint, Khāj Khizar, to educate him and take care of him ; that after six years, when he had recovered from his rapturous mood, his mother told him what he had done, and what a grievous injury he had caused to his brother and sister-in-law, who had never ceased bewailing the loss of

their only child. Whereupon Makhdum Shah told her not to grieve, and, going to the river, said "Khāje Khizar, pray give me back my nephew, whom I committed to your care six years ago." On this the river began to roll, and out came the boy, robed and jewelled like a prince. Though young, he was thoroughly conversant with all the religious laws, and afterwards became the famous Hazrat Shah Ali from whom Hazrat Jandaha got its name.* It is hardly necessary to point out that these legends were foisted on indigenous names during the Muhammadan period to account for their origin in a manner most consonant with popular ideas. They were intended to give an air of sanctity to the tombs of the Musalman saints, and earn for them that reverence which, without these appeals to the vulgar imagination, would never have been accorded to them. But under their spell they are respected alike by Hindus and Muhammadans to this day.

How far the popular imagination will stretch to invent an ingenious story to account for the name of a place, is shown by the tale connected with the five tanks in Durbhanga which give such a charming appearance to the place, especially during the rains. It is related that, in the time of Raja Siū Sing Deo, a fisherwoman, with a basket of fish on her head, and accompanied by her daughter-in-law, was on her way to the market. A kite from a neighbouring tree pounced down and carried away a fish from the basket. Instead of sympathising with her mother-in-law, the daughter began to laugh. Enraged at such unbecoming conduct, the mother-in-law gave vent to her rage, and a hot quarrel ensued. All this was witnessed by the Rajah as he sat at his window, and he lost no time in sending for the women. He asked the younger woman the cause of her unseasonable laughter; but she begged hard to be excused, saying that if she told her story it would be certain death to her. The Raja's curiosity being roused, he insisted on hearing her reason. "In the reign of king Yudasthir," said the younger fisherwoman, "I was a kite. During the war of 'the Mahabharata I carried away the arm of a woman, with a 'golden bracelet weighing 80 maunds, and brought it here and 'ate it (pointing to the spot). I laughed at the thought of the 'petty greed of the puny kites of the present time, who do not 'mind pouncing down on a paltry fish even," saying this, she expired. The Maharajah, who was no less astonished than curious to find out the truth of the story, ordered a series of tanks to be dug in the places pointed out. At last his perseverance was rewarded by finding the skeleton of the arm, as well as the

* Hazrat (Majesty, dignity) is a title given to the venerated. Applied to *Jandahā* and other places of pilgrimage, owing to their containing the tombs of revered saints.

golden bracelet ; and so the tank in which they were found was called *Harrāhi* or " the bone tank." The others are called by various names.

Rivers, brooks and streams have from time immemorial been assigned healing properties, and superstition has not unfrequently attributed to them other miraculous powers. There are two streams in Darbhanga, *Kamla* and *Jiwach*, held sacred for their miraculous medicinal properties. A bath in the former during the full moon of certain months (*Kārtic* and *Māgh*) is believed to cure women of sterility, and in the latter to give a new lease of life to sickly children ; hence the latter is called *Jiwach* or " the life giving stream." A tale of superstition and cruel wrong is unfolded in the name of *Dainmarwa*, a village in the north-west corner of Chumparan, and the scene, no doubt, of the sacrifice of a *dāin*, or witch, to the popular superstition. Several other villages with similar names tell the same story of cruelty, begotten of ignorance and superstition. Another phase of superstition, though a milder form of it, is the belief that the names of certain places, like the names of certain obnoxious individuals, if uttered in the morning will bring ill-luck to the utterer. Several villages bearing these inauspicious names are to be met with in Bihar, e. g., *Munshi-ka-Bazar* on the Segauli-Gobindgunje road and *Bhaluahi* (north-east of Bettiah, in Chumparan.) The names of notorious misers and of certain unlucky animals are also not taken in the morning, from the same superstitious feeling. The story is that the Munshi who established the above bazar was a notorious miser, and the name of the latter village corresponds to that of a bear, which is considered an unlucky animal. Sometimes, through the dense mist of antiquity, a ray of light shoots forth, and amidst a bushel of legendary and superstitious stories, a grain of fact is met with which repays the trouble of sifting. *Ramchura* and *Rambhadr*, in Hajipur, are the spots at the confluence of two sacred streams, where Rama first set foot (*charan*) on his northward journey, and where he performed his toilet (lit : ' shaved,' *bhadr*), before setting out for king Janaka's court. And if the main facts of the story of the *Ramayana* are true (and there is no reason why they should not be), there was no more likely place for the hero to cross over (as he journeyed from his native country) than the spots indicated by these ancient names.

So many divers elements have, from time to time, united to form the Hindustani language now current, so many foreign and heterogeneous languages (with pronunciations so alien to the genius of the indigenous or naturalized tongue) have been piled one on another, that it is not surprising to find that corruptions and mispronunciations have crept in, and often mislead the enquirer in his endeavours to trace names to their right sources.

Some are, indeed, conspicuous and easy to detect ; but oftener they are to be met with so transformed, so assimilated, so pitched to the indigenous key, that it is hard to distinguish them. Who would, for example, easily recognise "the brilliant palace, the exalted dome" (*Kaiwan shakoh*) in the meaningless jargon, *Kaua Kho*, one of the so-called *mahallas*, or wards, in the city of Patna ? It is worth while enquiring how this name came to be introduced. It was the custom of the Moghuls to call their palaces by high-sounding names, the *grandeur* of which was oftener reflected by the noble tenant than by any excellence of architecture. *Shakoh* is a Persian word which means 'dignity,' 'grandeur,' 'pomp,' and *Kaiwan* 'the planet Saturn.' We have a similar compound in *Dara shakoh*, or "in pomp like Darius." It was therefore the name of a palace, or residence of a prince, most likely of that name or title. Probably some prefix, such as *bárgah*, 'court,' or 'palace,' is now left out which would complete the sense. It is clear, therefore, how the locality came to be called by the corrupt name which it bears now : it is simply the place where stood this stately palace, rivalling the planet Saturn in *grandeur* and *brilliancy*. Then, again, who, looking as we usually do in our daily business, more with a practical than a critical and philologer's eye, could trace in the ugly contortion *Khaikalla* ghat, in Patna, the name *Khāje* or *Khwājā Kallān*, or the senior Khwaja, who gave the name to it ? *Khwaja* is literally 'master,' or a man of distinction ; but it was a title usually applied to a rich merchant. From the name, we learn that there must have been two such *Khawājās*, for one to be called senior. Similarly *Guzri*, or the central thoroughfare, the main road where the market is held daily in Patna (from a market, held in the 'afternoon'—*guzri*—by the roadside), is corrupted into the hybrid *gudri*, and the dike, or masonry embankment, that the Dutch ('Hollanders') built in front of their factory in the 17th century, a few yards below the present Patna Opium Factory, is called *Olendāz ka postha*. *Andar Killa*, or 'inside the fort,' in Hajipur, is turned into *Anar Kella*, and *An-warpur*, the present railway station of Hajipur, on the Tirhut State line, is called and written *Anārpur*, as if the place at one time had contained a plantation of pomegranate trees. Going back into the dim past of Indian history, we find that *Bishālapuri*, mentioned in *Valmiki's Ramayana* (named after Raja Bishal, Rama's uncle), is changed into *Bassār*, in the *Pāro thana*, Mozufferpur district, and now identified by a big village close to it, called *Bannia*, and hence called *Bannia-Bassar*. There are, in this ancient village, relics of an old fort and a Buddhist convent, and it was most probably the *Bishālapuri* of the *Ramayana*. Many more instances of corruptions and mispronunciations might be cited, but we will only give another instance from

modern times to show how changes are effected. Colonel Dalton, who did so much for Chota Nagpur, also established the sub-divisional head-quarters of Palamow on the bank of the *Koel*, which was called after him *Daltonunge*; but the name is very fast disappearing among the natives in its purity, the corruption, *Laltaengunge*, taking its place. But indigenous names, too, would not seem to be altogether free from this corruption, arising principally from attrition of use. For example, the ludicrous turn given to the name *Ghorpakri* (a village in the Champarun district, would make it appear at first sight, as if the word was in some way connected with *Ghor* or *Ghora*, a horse,' as indeed I have heard some natives derive it. But the name, no doubt, was *Ghūr Pakri*, or the village where the *Pakri* tree stood on the *ghūr*, which is the common fire place of the village, and where the villagers sit and gossip morning and evening in the cold weather, the fire being formed of the collected sweepings piled up in a place. The *Pakri* tree spoken of here, from which the village took its name, was no doubt the one under which there was the village fire-place (*ghūr*.)

Some names have lost altogether their original meaning, the places no longer being what they were once, and are used without any reference to their former exactness and application, e. g. *Ramnā* indicates 'the place where the deer were kept,' 'the park ;' but is now often to be met with in the heart of a city and forming a separate word by itself. In most places where the Moghul nobles and princes took up their permanent residence, they established a park, and thus we meet with this name in many old Indian cities.

At the conclusion of this paper I cannot do better than point out, by a few examples of suffixes, the double and sometimes treble nomenclature in vogue, thus "unmistakably bearing the marks and footprints of great revolutions profoundly impressed on it." We have, side by side with *Nagar*, *nagari*, *pur*, *puri*, *grām*, *gāon*, *gao*, *tola*, *toli*, of Sanskrit origin, *ābād*, *ganj*, *shahar*, *sarae*, introduced by the Muhammadans. The former set of words have lost much of their force and accuracy in modern times, but there must have been some distinction in the use of these terminals in an earlier period. *Nagar* and *Nagri* were no doubt first class cities and towns ; and probably *pur* and *puri* came next in order, although we find them used somewhat promiscuously in Sanskrit writings. *Grām*, *gaon*, *gao*, and all derivatives from them, were villages and suburban towns, and we have a distinction made between a *grām* and a *nagar* in the instructions laid down for the guidance of mendicants. It is said, "a devotee "can tarry for five nights in a *nagar*, but only for one night in

"a *grām*, where the people are chiefly poor." *Tolā, tolī* (from 'tol, a class, a tribe, or clan, a division) was a division, or small part of a town or village separated from it, and forming a distinct hamlet, in which a separate class, or caste, had settled from the main village, to which it belonged. It is now commonly applied to a ward of a city occupied by a particular caste, or class following a certain occupation. *Abad* was a place which any one had helped to establish and people: it is now used indiscriminately for a big city, as well as a small town or village. *Ganj* is literally 'a collection,' 'a heap,' and was applied to granaries, depôts, markets and marts; it is also now used for a town of any magnitude, the predominant idea of 'a cluster of houses' being still preserved. *Shahr* was, *par excellence*, 'the city' in Muhammadan times, as *Shahr-i-Delhi*, or *shahr-i-Patna*. *Sarāe* (literally 'a mansion' or 'house') was an inn where travellers halted, and indicates, usually in a compound, that originally an inn existed there. Other suffixes and their contractions are frequently met with which would repay study, *e. g.*, *aoli* (and its various modifications) in such names as *Turkaoliyā* and *Misraoliya*, means 'a series,' 'a line,' 'a range,' *i. e.*, a range, or collection of quarters or houses occupied by Turks and Missir Brahmins,* and hence a settlement or village of these castes or classes. It may be noted in passing, that *Turk* was a name commonly applied by the Natives to Muhammadans in general, doubtless from the fact that the original Muhammadan settlers were Turks; and the popular language still retains this trace in such words as *Turkhajjam* and *Turk-dhobi*, for Musalman barbar and washerman, in contradistinction to the Hindu followers of the same professions. *Bāri* and *Bigha* are also affixes commonly to be met with, the latter, principally in Gaya. The former means a homestead, with groves and lands attached thereto, and the latter is ('as, well known) a land measure, and means lands, or so many acres occupied by a certain class or caste of people, as for example, *Semarbari* (in Champaran), *i. e.*, 'the homesteads amidst cotton trees,' and *goār* or *goāl bighā* (in Gaya) *i. e.*, the land or village inhabited by milkmen. *Di Dih*, or *Dihā*, is originally an elevated land, and then a village on such a raised spot, with surrounding low lands, and then any village. It is also applied to the old site of a village, now abandoned,† or the parent village in relation to its sub-villages and hamlets. *Chak*, principally to be

* The genitive particle *ā*, as a terminal, indicates to whom the village belongs, or by whom it is peopled. *e. g.*, *Turk aoli-ya-Missir-aoli-ya*.

† Mr. Grierson, in his excellent book on Bihār Peasant Life, the publication of which marks an era in Bihār literature, notes the three classes of soil according to their respective distance from the village site: these are *dihās, baharsi* and *tañr*.

met with in Tirhoot, means 'a parcel,' or portion of land divided off from the parent village. As fresh settlements are made, these 'parcels,' or 'shares,' of lands are 'sliced off' from the surrounding villages, and made into a separate village: these are termed, *Chak*, *e. g.*, *Chaksaho* and *Chaksekandar* in the Tajpur and Hajipur sub-divisions.* *Ghat* is a 'pass,' or entrance into a country over mountains, or through any difficult pass, and hence an entrance to a riverside, a landing place. Such affixes as *gar* 'a high mound'; *pāhi*, 'a foreign cultivator' (*i. e.*, who lives in one village and cultivates lands in another); *tānr* or *tand*, high extensive wastes of infertile land, or of hillocks and ridges, such as are found in the south of Gaya; *Chaunr*, low open, marshy country, mostly water-logged, *sareh*, or *sareya*, outlying lands, as distinguished from the *Dih* and *goenr*, or homestead lands, are sometimes found joined to other words, forming self-explaining compounds.

JOHN CHRISTIAN.

* This suffix, I am informed, is used chiefly to denote alluvial lands reclaimed from marshes and hollows or from rivers that have changed their courses.

ART. IV.—THE PLANTAIN: ITS HISTORY, CULTIVATION AND FOLK-LORE.

THE plantain tree is a native of India and the neighbouring regions, as far as China in the East, and along the sub-Himalayan tracts, as far as the valley of the Euphrates, on the West. From these countries it is supposed to have spread into the neighbouring islands, and the other equinoctial and tropical parts of the Globe; and it is now thoroughly at home in Africa, South America and the South Sea Islands. Numerous clumps of the wild plantain still cover the hill slopes north of Chittagong, where the Gàyal and the elephant nibble at their leaves and crunch their soft, succulent stems, and Dr. Roxburgh thinks that all the varieties now cultivated in this country are derived from the wild plant of Chittagong. The wild plantain is also found in Nepal and on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, the Nilgiris and the Eastern and Western Ghats. In the evergreen forests that clothe the hills of Malabar, Mr. Rhodes Morgan, a scientific traveller, found the wild plantain the most interesting feature in that woodland scenery. "A thousand rock-plantains (*Musa Ornata*)," he writes, "display their handsome leaves and curious bulbous-looking stems, whilst the common wild plantain (*Musa Superba*) grows in clumps in the ravine lower down. We cut down a bunch of the tempting golden fruit. There is nought inside them, however, but a mass of hard, black seeds, thinly covered with farinaceous pulp. Our attendant—Coorcha—munches steadily through them, finishing up with a handful of common figs (*Ficus glomerata*), which he has picked on our way up, and which swarm with a multitude of little two-tailed flies." In these parts the grass in the forests was in former times burnt down in the hot season, and the wild plantain was the first plant to show itself after the annual clearing.

Seeds have now disappeared from the superior varieties of plantain that are cultivated for their fruit. These thrive best on a rich, damp soil, surrounded by a steamy atmosphere, especially if the air is laden with the smell of the neighbouring sea. The plantain in its highest perfection is, therefore, found all round the Indian coast, and in Burma, Siam, the Straits and the Indian Archipelago. For the same reason it is now quite at home in the West Indies and the South Sea Islands. In the far West, among the sugar-plantations of Jamaica and Trinidad, it is an interesting sight to see the banana hiding, with its smooth green leaves, the low cottage

of the Negro labourer, while above the cocoanut palm spreads its long feathery arms. Indeed, it is said that Jamaica would be scarcely habitable without the plantain, as no species of flour or bread could supply its place in supporting the health and strength of the Negro. It is also frequently the chief support of the American Indians, who cultivate it in the depths of their primæval forests, and, like the Karens of Burma, take it with them in their frequent changes of residence. Nor have the European planters neglected this valuable plant. Among the enormous sugar plantations of the West Indies, glowing with the fresh green of the cane, and marked off into small squares, now and again comes to view the planter's white homestead, embowered amid palms, palmettos, cocoanuts, bananas, laurels and ceibas. In Europe the plantain is not seen in the open air above southern Spain, although in Cuba it is said to grow even where the thermometer in winter falls below freezing point. In the Himalayas the plant ascends to an elevation of 6,500 feet. The superior kinds of plantain lead a poor existence in the dry climate of Northern India, and their efforts to bring forth fruit, when not altogether abortive, result in the production of an article much inferior to the real thing in a more congenial climate. The plantain had, therefore, no place of honour in the household economy of the early Aryans, who, coming from beyond the Indus, formed their first settlements on the banks of the mighty streams which have given its name to the modern Province of the Panjab. They chanted no song in its honour, poured no oblation to it on the sacred fire, and invoked no god to nourish it with rain and sunshine. But when, in course of time, they moved further east, they came to know its value. From that time forth the grateful Brâhmans called it by various endearing names, compounded from Sanskrit roots, expressive of the habits of the plant and the beauty and use of its products. Thus *kadâli*, the common Sanskrit name, means that which is nourished by water, and was given to it for its love of a damp soil and a moist atmosphere. *Rambha* is that which is pleasant to the mind. *Bana-lakshmi* signifies the "wealth-giving goddess of the forests." *Bhânu-phala* means the "sun-fruit." *Vârana-vusa* and *Vârana-ballabha* signify the "beloved of the elephants." *Mocha*, the name commonly used for the fruit in ancient times, and now specially applied to the flower-head, means the "liberated," referring to the way in which the flowering spike emerges from the parent tree, like a child from the womb. *Mocha* was reduced to *Mauz* in the Pâli dialect of the Sanskrit language, which flourished in India in the Buddhist Period, when India had the greatest intercourse with the Arabs and the Ionian Greeks.

It is probable that from the last name, the Arabic word for plantain, "Mauz," is derived. European authors took the Arabic word and gave the name *Musa* to the genus, and the name *Musaceæ* to the Natural Order under which they classed the plantain tree. The close affinity of the Musads with the Gingerworts has, however, led later authors to put the plantain under the Order *Scitaminæ*, to which also belong ginger, turmeric and other plants of the same nature. The connection of the word *Musa* with the Arabic word *Mauz* was, however, doubted by Linnæus. According to him, Plumier, a celebrated French botanist, gave the name to the genus in memory of Antonius Musa, the brother of Euphorbus and the physician of Augustus. Banana and plantain are the two common English names for the fruit, as well as for the plant which is of many species. Banana, according to some, is derived from the word *Vávana*, a contraction of the Sanskrit name *Vávana-vusa*, or *Vávana-ballabha*, or from *Bhánuphala*, another Sanskrit name. It is said that the word was first changed to *Ourana* by the Greeks, and subsequently it assumed the form of *Ariéana* in that language, which word has a close resemblance to Banana. Under the name of *Ariena*, Theophrastus described a fruit which he saw was the chief food of the Indian sages, and which has been identified with the plantain. The name plantain is supposed to have been derived from *Pala*. Copying from Theophrastus, Pliny wrote that the leaf of the *Pala* tree resembles "the wing of a bird, being three cubits in length, and two in breadth. It puts forth its fruit from the bark, a fruit remarkable for the sweetness of its juice, a single one (bunch?) containing enough to satisfy four persons." *Pala* seems to have its origin in *Phala*, the general Sanskrit name for fruit, or in *Vala*, the Malayalan name for plantain. A little herb of the genus *Plantago*, is also called plantain. It is found in the English meadows, and supplies seeds for cage birds. To this genus also belongs the plant which produces the *Isapghul* of the Indian bazars, a valuable demulcent medicine, prized by both Hindus and Muhammadans. To distinguish the plantain of England from the plantain of India, the latter is generally called the plantain *tree*, while in the case of the former the name is used by itself.

Plantain has yet another English name which has now fallen into disuse. Gerarde and other authors called it Adam's apple, because, according to some, it was the forbidden fruit of the Garden of Paradise. There has been much controversy on this subject, some preferring to place the odium on wheat, while others blame the grape, the shaddock, the cherry, or the apple. In the West Indies the shaddock is commonly called the forbidden fruit. The authority for pointing to the apple as the forbidden fruit is the passage of the

Canticles—"I awakened you under an apple tree ; 'twas there your mother lost her innocence." The connection of the plantain with the Garden of Paradise is based on grounds equally indisputable. The violet cone at the end of a bunch of plantain is responsible for it. Sir George Birdwood writes :— "St. Pieræ in his way observes that the violet cone at the end of a bunch of plantain, with the stigmas peering through like gleaming eyes, might well have suggested to the guilty imagination of Eve, the semblance of a serpent, tempting her to pluck the forbidden fruit it bore as an erect and golden crest." Thus, seeing the important part which the plantain played in the destiny of man, learned men searched in the Bible for any mention of the fruit. Loudolf conjectured that the *dudoim* of the Scriptures was the plantain ; but it has now been proved that it was the mandrake, which possesses virtues like those of belladonna, and by which the magicians of the ancient world used to produce hallucinations in their dupes. Again, Gesenius supposed that by *Teanah* was meant the plantain tree. But *Teanah* was the fig tree (*Ficus carica*). There is another legend to the effect that Adam and Eve clothed themselves with plantain leaves after they had eaten the forbidden fruit, whatever it may have been. It is also supposed that it was a bunch of plantains which the spies of Moses brought away from the Promised Land, for it required two men to carry, and a bunch of grapes could not have been so heavy. Some, again, instead of looking upon it as the forbidden fruit, give it the credit of being the original food of man in the garden of Paradise. Whatever may have been its connection with the Garden of Paradise, the tradition has given the specific name *Paradisiaca* to the species, which is most extensively cultivated, and which produces the best kinds of fruit. The name of its most important variety, *viz.*, *Musa sapientum* has also an interesting derivation. The ancient sages of India abhorred the shedding of blood, and abstained from all kinds of animal food. They had even a reluctance to destroy vegetable life by eating seeds like wheat and rice, and the most austere among them went so far as to live upon fallen leaves. To such holy men the plantain was a great boon. Theophrastus, the Greek, as mentioned before, found it the principal food of the ancient sages of India, and authors therefore called it by the name of *sapientum*, which means "of the wise men."

Musa paradisiaca produces the fruit which is known as the *kanch-kala* in Bengal. It is plucked green and cooked as a vegetable. *Musa paradisiaca*, var. *sapientum*, is the *Martabán* of Bengal, and the common banana of the West Indies. But the names plantain and banana are often used promiscuously, the first being the term most accepted in India to denote all

kinds and all forms of the fruit, and in the general sense it is used in this article, and no distinction has been made between it and the banana. In the West Indies, however, the plantain is distinguished as the fruit of that variety which is plucked green and cooked as a vegetable, the banana being the fruit of the varieties that are eaten raw. *Musa sapientum* was formerly reckoned a separate species. There are many other varieties of *M. paradisiaca* and forms of *sapientum*, but they are still very much "mixed," as in the days of Voight, who vainly tried "to put them into some order." *M. sapientum* is, however, distinguished by its stalks, which are marked with dark purple stripes and spots. Its fruit is also shorter and rounder, with a softer pulp, and of a more delicate flavour. The other principal fruit-producing species of the *Musa* are the *Mr. rosacea*, the rose-coloured plantain of the Mauritius, and the red plantain of Bombay, Madras and Burma; *M. nana*, the dwarf-plantain of China; *M. Duerca*, another dwarf species of China; *M. coccinea*, a scarlet flowered species of the same country; *M. orientum*, the "Lady finger" banana, and *M. masculata*, the fig banana of the West Indies. In the Indian Archipelago, besides *M. sapientum*, the species mostly met with are *M. Simiarius* with its varieties. The principal forms seen in India will be described under their vernacular names.

Most of the common Sanskrit names of the plantain have already been given. The vernacular names are—Bengali, *Kalá*; Hindi, *Kelá*; Persian, *Mauz*; Márháthi, *Keli*; Tamil *Vala*, *Vela*; Telugu, *Ariti*; Singhalese, *Kahekang*; Burmese *Nepyan*, *Ng-hyet-prow*; Bali, *Biyu*; Javanese, *Gadang*; Malay *Pisang*.

The plantain tree is a very graceful plant, and its straight, succulent stem is a favourite object with Sanskrit poets with which to compare the lower limbs of a beautiful maiden. "Her limbs are like the *Rám-rambhá* plant," is a simile which no poet of any pretension will forget to apply to his heroine. With the stem of the plantain a beautiful comparison is made by Kálidásá in "The Birth of the War god," but it has unfortunately been omitted in Griffith's translation. Sometimes the compliment is carried a little further, when the gracefulness of the heroine comes off victorious in comparison with the poor plantain. In short, anything thick and straight and graceful is compared with the plantain stem. Thus in the *Mahábhárata* :—

Kadali sunda sadrisam sarva lakshana sanjutam.

Gaja-hasta pratikásam vajra pratime gauravam.

"Like the trunk of a plantain, full of all good qualities,
Like the trunk of an elephant with the glories of thunder." The stem is 10 to 12 feet high, and is formed by a succession of layers of the fibrous leaf-stalks, which, descending

from the head of the plant to the root, sheath the white cylindrical pith in the centre of the plant. This pith is as white as ivory, but is soft, and shows to great perfection bundles of spiral vessels, when broken across. Its resemblance to ivory, with its difference from it in strength and consistency, has given rise to the Malayalam proverb:—"Ivory and the heart of the plantain are equal to each other." This is as much as to say:—"All that glitters is not gold." The pith, is however, the main support of the plantain tree, weak as it is. Hence, Jāgnavalka, one of the greatest sages of ancient India, compared human life with a plantain tree without the pith, *i. e.*, empty, vain and fragile. The stem is from one to two feet thick at the base. The leaves are from six to eight feet long and two feet broad, and form a tuft on the head of the stem. The lamina, or the blade of the leaf, has parallel veins running at right angles from the midrib to the margin. These veins do not anastomose, or form a net work, as in the mango and jack. The blades are, therefore, easily torn, and often they are reduced to numerous shreds by a strong gale. But they remain attached to the midrib, and wave to and fro as the wind passes over them. The flower stalk is the continuation of the white cylinder in the centre of the stem. The conical flower-head looks like a red cabbage, and is about a foot long and six inches in circumference in the middle. When it has come out to a sufficient extent from the plant, it gracefully droops by its own weight. The flower-head is composed of numerous divisions, each division being enclosed in a purple, leathery spathe, or involucre.

Under them are arranged a double row of nine or ten elongated reddish flowers, the male lying at the base, while the female or the hermaphrodite flowers are at the upper end. As each row of the flower matures, the involucre falls off, and a line of fruit appears, looking like the slender fingers of a child. The spathe which has been shed, is like a miniature flat-bottomed country-boat, and children are fond of playing with it. The fruit, when ripe, is from three to six inches long and from half an inch to two inches thick. Clustering spirally round the stalk, it forms a large bunch containing from eighty to a hundred plantains, and sometimes even as many as three hundred. Some of the species of *Musa* are specially handsome, notably the Abyssinian species, *Musa ensete*. The flower-stalk being the continuation of the white cylinder inside the plant, the plantain can fruit only once in its life, after which the old tree, leading a useless life for a short time, dies down to the root, and its place is taken by the next large sucker, or suckers, growing from the parent root. The old plant is, however, cut down when the fruit is plucked.

Although the wild plantain fruit is full of small black seeds, the cultivated kinds are sterile and contain no seeds. In its wild state the plant soon exhausts the food stored in the place where it grows, and finds itself hampered on all sides by the competition of other plants. The encouragement to reproduce itself by suckers is, therefore, limited in its mountain home. There it fills its fruit with numerous black seeds, covered with a thin sweet pulp, so that birds may be tempted to come and carry them away for propagation to distant lands and fresh pastures. But the object of cultivation is to give it suitable land and nourishing food, and to prevent other plants from stealing that which is given to it. Here it finds every encouragement to throw out suckers, which grow faster than the young produced from seeds. It, therefore, devotes all its mind, so to say, to sending out new suckers, on which it exhausts all its organic power of reproduction. It gradually forgets to form seeds, and partly through long continued habit, partly through selection by man, the best kinds of plantain have now lost their power of making seeds. When food in one place fails, these plants find themselves quite helpless. Unable to call back their old alternative way of continuing the race, they gradually die, each family with its old ones in the middle and little ones clustering round. In some climates, as in Java, however, they soon succeed in regaining their power of making seeds. But what is most notable in Bengal is, that the form known as *Kántáli*, which is the plantain cultivated for fruit from prehistoric times, has not yet forgotten its old instinct of reproduction, and the reversion in its case takes place more speedily and easily than in any other form. When a clump of this plantain has been standing in one place long enough to exhaust the surrounding soil, it immediately begins to reduce the number of its suckers and to make seeds in the fruits. Cultivation and abundance of nourishment in the soil, therefore, do not totally destroy the power of making seeds; but only check it and keep it in a dormant state. A more radical change in the life of the plant than mere cultivation is necessary to bring about this result. This change was afforded it by its removal to distant parts of the globe, and there, simultaneously with the destruction of its power of making seeds, a great improvement took place in the fruit itself and its pulp. In China the plant of one sort got dwarfed and gave up all its vegetative strength to the production of the fruit. In the Malayan Peninsula the pulp of the fruit in several sorts assumed a delicate softness, and the plant producing it became the source of the modern banana, which travelled back to Bengal by way of Martaban, a name by which it is known in this part of the country. It assumed many other forms under different circumstances and under different treatment. While

in some places it is scarcely three inches long, in others it is as big as a man's forearm. In Java there is a plantain, called the *Pisang-tanduk*, which is about two feet long. In the mountains of the Philippine Islands a single fruit is said to be a sufficient load for a man. But this must be a monstrosity. Another form is said to grow in Java which produces only a single fruit inside the stem, from which it bursts forth when ripe. It is of such a size that four persons can satisfy themselves on one fruit. But even in these countries the ordinary forms of plantain have not yet entirely forgotten their instinct of making seeds, especially where they have a chance of running wild. This is particularly noticed in Java, where the *Musa sapientum* has shown an obstinate tendency to run to seed. This is said to be due to a curse which a king pronounced upon it in that ancient period when the Hindu religion flourished in the island. The legend is thus related by Mr. Kurz :—" There was a Rájá who was very fond of this kind of plantain, at that time bearing no seeds. His subjects, however, were not less fond of it, and they ate so many, that finally none remained on the trees. The Rájá, asking one day for his favorite fruit, and seeing all his trees plundered, became very angry and took a handful of cotton seed, strewing them in all directions of his Empire with the curse, that his favourite plantain trees should bear only cotton seed. From that time no *Pisang batta* can be found in the whole country, which did not bear seed." It seems that a few fresh suckers of the seedless *Pisang batta* from the Continent are now necessary to remove the curse, at least till they again degenerate. In order to verify the plantains which he found cultivated in India, Dr. Roxburgh obtained some seeds of the wild plantain from Chittagong and cultivated them in the Royal Botanical Gardens. The plants that grew out of them exhibited all the characteristics of the cultivated kinds. " In the course of two years," writes Dr. Roxburgh, " from the seeds received from Chittagong, these attained the usual height of the cultivated sorts, which is about ten to twelve feet. They blossom at all seasons, though generally during the rains ; and ripen their seeds in five or six months afterwards ; the plant then perishes down to the root, which long before this time has produced other shoots ; these continue to grow up, blossom, etc, in succession for several years." One form of *Musa paradisiaca*, called Dogre in the vernacular, is full of seeds. Its flower-head is, however, large, and is used as a vegetable, being specially cultivated for that purpose near Calcutta. Another kind with seeds, called *sayá*, is occasionally cultivated in Bengal. Its juice, is said to be a valuable remedy for eye-diseases.

All the cultivated forms of the plantain are now propagated

from the suckers. About six to eight suckers are thrown out by each mature plant during the year, and half of these must be removed in order to allow the others to grow at ease. So, to express their dislike of over-crowding, the people of Malabar quote the proverb—"A plantain tree that grows in a cluster of several others will produce no bunch."

In parts of the Bombay Presidency, especially in the Nasik District, only one shoot, *i. e.*, the "daughter" (*Kar*) is allowed to grow, but occasionally a second, *i. e.* the "grand-daughter," (*Nat*) is also left in the group. The suckers taken out are planted elsewhere, if a new garden is required to be laid; otherwise they are thrown away, or given to cattle. The land where the plantain grows best is of a rich, deep, porous soil, with plenty of moisture, but not water-logged. It also flourishes well in newly cleared jungled land and in the new soil taken out in the excavation of tanks. Upon the earth heaped all round the new tank the mango, jack and other orchard trees are sown, and in the neighbourhood of each seedling a plantain shoot is put in, which, growing up fast, affords shade to the young tree, and for six or seven years contributes, by its fruit, towards the cost of rearing the garden. While the plantain is absorbing all the nourishment lying on the surface of the land, the orchard trees are growing up and sending their roots deep down into the soil. In seven or eight years the plantain has exhausted all the nourishment in the upper soil, and the orchard trees are by this time sufficiently advanced. The plantain now dies, or is cut down, and the land is left in full possession of the permanent trees. In the south the plantain is made to afford shade to the areca and the cocoanut, the coffee and the betel-vine. In South America it affords shade to the cacao. In the case of the arecanut the ground is first planted with rows of plantain trees at a distance of three cubits, between which the areca seedlings are set in holes. At the end of three years, the original plantain trees are removed, and a new set is planted between the areca beds. The greater part of the plantain trees are removed after the end of twelve years, when the areca palm has grown up, but a few are permanently retained between each bed of the plantain, "in order to preserve a coolness at the root of the areca." In Bengal the plantain is put into new land in June or July, after the rains have well set in. The following saying is common among the peasantry :—

*Dák de bale Rávan
Kalá potoge Ashár Srávan,
Sát háth antar savá háth bái
Kalá pute Kháo chásá-bhái.*

Exclaims Rávan—

Sow plantain in Ashár, Srávan.
 Two feet hole ten feet distant,
 Put, brother, each plantain plant.

It is not known why Rávan, the ten-headed giant of Ceylon, is cited as an authority on this point. Probably his name has been taken for want of a better rhyme for "Srávan." Wise instructions have also been given in the matter of planting the banana by a West Indian negro. "In the fus place, we chops down the trees, and burns all of day that we can; then we cuts de banana sprouts into pieces wid an axe and makes little holes wid a mattock above so far apart (the distance pointed out to the listener by stretching out his long arms), den we chuck them in, and *away dey goes*." In Bengal, after the young plants are once put in, no care is taken of them, except that the soil near the roots is loosened once a year, and a number of the suckers are removed to prevent overcrowding. Only in very rare cases manure, in the shape of rotten cowdung or other vegetable matter, is applied to the root, and that for the best kinds of plantain.

In the south of India the plant is more carefully cultivated, being frequently hoed, manured and watered. So there is a Tamil proverb :—"Hoe for the plantain and water for brinjals." Although hoeing and digging are also practised in the West Indies, where the banana is treated just as a crop of corn, this mode of disturbing the roots is not generally recommended by scientific authorities on the subject, as "the plant is a surface feeder, and cultivation with hoe or plough, however shallow, will in every case take most of the roots and retard the growth of the plant rather than hasten it." On the other hand, in the opinion of the cultivators themselves, a good hoeing all over the ground would keep down the weeds, keep the soil underneath light and friable, and furnish fertilising material as it decayed. In the Madras Presidency two modes of growing the plantain are followed, distinguished by the site of the land and the distance at which the shoots are planted ; that on the upland being known as the *Pakka Valai*, and that on the lowlands *Thuru valai*. Sweet potatoes and other crops are frequently put between the plantains, by which plan a second crop is obtained for a year or two. The plantation is destroyed after four or five years, when the land is hoed up and other crops are sown.

On the Bombay side, too, great care is taken in the cultivation of the plantain. After the land has been carefully prepared, pits are dug, in which the new shoots are put, with manure, earth and dry leaves. The plantain is irrigated once or twice a week. In some parts of the

Western Presidency it is cultivated in rotation with sugar-cane or betel-leaves. Sugar-cane is planted immediately after the betel vine is taken out of the land. A year of fallow then succeeds the cane, and the fallow is followed by either plantain or sugar-cane. The most careful system of cultivation is, however, followed in the Thána District, the produce from which finds a ready market in the town of Bombay. The cultivation pursued here is so different from that of any other part of India, and is attended with such good results, as any one can see from the abundance of the fruit in the Bombay market, that an account of it may be quoted here with advantage. Mr. James Campbell thus describes the process:—"The soil, which must be light and sandy, is burnt in April or May, and ploughed when the rains set in. It is then carefully cleared and levelled, and the young plants buried in holes about half a foot deep, manured with a handful of mixed oilcake, rotten fish and cow-dung, and the whole covered with grass and dry leaves. The distance between the plants depends on the kind of plantain, about 1000 of the *Basrái*, and only 500 of the *Tambadi*, being grown in one acre. The other kinds are generally set about seven feet from one another. For the first four months the plants have to be manured once a month, oilcake being used the first three times and fish the fourth time, if it can be got. Each layer of manure is covered with a thin coating of earth, and the earth is again covered with grass and tree leaves, *Sáthan*. Fish manure is cheaper, wants less water, and gives a better return than any other manure; but it is apt to breed worms, and the plants must not be watered for eight or ten days, until the worms are dead. When the third dressing has been given, the plants are watered every third day for twelve days, and afterwards every sixth day, till the rains set in. All plants but those of the *Basrai* kind have to be propped. Except the red, *Tambadi*, which does not come to fruit until the tenth month, the plantain yields fruit after eight months, and three months after that the fruit is ready."

Plantains are cultivated in Burma in a most careless way, although the soil is extremely rich, and in every way suitable for the best kinds of the fruit. This is attributed to the habit of the Burmese of eating the fruit green, cooked as a vegetable. They do not much care for the ripe fruit, and have therefore no inducement to improve its flavour, as in their opinion one kind of plantain is just as good for curry as another. But they cultivate it very largely. "No Burma or Karen house is to be found without a plantation of plantains. As the latter leave their abode every three years,

in order to migrate to fresh localities, they are of course obliged to leave their plantain gardens behind them, and therefore these may be found growing luxuriantly in many uninhabited places, until they became choked up by the growth of the now vigorous jungle trees." So wrote Dr. Boyle. The plantain is, however, very carefully cultivated in the Indian Archipelago. The principle followed there is to change the locality every two or three years, to remove the superfluous suckers, and to use the old stems as manure. If sufficient care is not bestowed, the fruit soon becomes seed bearing. In the Fiji Islands, however, the old stems, though used as manure, are not reckoned a good one. One authority, writing from there, says :—

" As is well-known, the trunk of this plant is cut down immediately after the ripe fruit has been gathered ; and, up to the present time, no use has been made of it other than a doubtful manure, having a strong tendency to make the soil sour, owing to its moisture retaining propensities."

The plantain grows rapidly. It is said that in favourable places its growth can almost be seen with the eyes. If a line of thread is laid across on a level with the top of a leaf when it is expanding, the leaf is seen to have grown an inch in the course of an hour. A plantain tree therefore yields fruit in a year, and sometimes in eight months. After it has once thoroughly established itself, and if well cared for, a group of plants produces seven or eight bunches in a year. Each bunch contains from 80 to 300 plantains, the value of which may be put down at four annas. The annual yield per acre in favourable places, and under careful cultivation, is estimated as high as Rs. 200 for three or four years. The great enemy of the plantain is the strong wind which blows in the country in the dry and the rainy months, and which lays low the most mature plants in a group, especially those laden with fruit. Thus, the fall of a plantain tree before a hurricane, is pathetically compared with the untimely death of a human being in the Coorg funeral song :—

As the raging storms in June
Break the fruitful plantain trees
In the garden round our house,
Thus, wast thou cut off, O father !

In Bengal, the two forms cultivated from the most ancient times are *Káñch-Kalá*, the fruit of *Musa paradisiaca* itself, and the *Kántáli*. It seems that it took a long time for the ripe plantain to get rid of its seeds and become fit for human food. Its value in ancient times was therefore chiefly confined to its use as a vegetable, as it is with the village Burmese of to-day. The *Káñch-Kalá*, which is plucked green, is considered

a very valuable vegetable, especially for those who are troubled with indigestion. Simply boiled with rice, it is one of the purest vegetables, from an orthodox point of view. To flavour the insipid rice, it is almost the sole reliance of the most orthodox Bráhmans, the ascetic widows and dutiful kinsmen who mourn the loss of a near relative by leading, for a prescribed time, a simple, frugal life. In the hot season, when other vegetables are abundant, and *Káñch-Kalá* is not so much in demand, the heat ripens the fruit. As a ripe fruit, it is sweet, but the pulp is flabby. Ripe *Káñch-Kalá* is considered very cooling, and given to lunatics and those who complain of heat in the brain. The *Kántáli* is equally pure. It is a form of *Musa sapientum*, and is eaten raw when ripe. Though very sweet, the pulp is coarse. It is, however, considered nourishing, especially when eaten with milk. The *Chatim*, or *Martabán*, is, however, the kind most liked by the natives of the country. It is a form of *Musa sapientum* brought probably from Martaban, as its name implies. The pulp of the *Chatim* is white, soft and buttery, though possessing the same consistency as the *Kátáli*. The *Chámpa* is, however, the favourite of the Europeans in Bengal, probably owing to its sub-acid taste. The rind is thin and of a golden yellow, and the pulp as soft as that of the Martaban, but a shade more delicate. The inside of the pulp, when broken across, shows a beautiful reddish tint. There are other varieties in Bengal, though not very common. Thus—

Mánikyamarthyámrita champakdyá
Bhedá kadlyá bahavíp santi.
 “ Manik, Martta, Amrita, Champá,
 “ There are many varieties of plantain.”

On the Madras side the principal varieties are *Rasthali*, a superior table plantain; the *Gandi* kinds, which are in great request, as they can be stewed down like an apple; *Pachhá*, a long, curved, green fruit; *Pevale*, a pale ash-coloured, sweet fruit; *Monden*, a three-sided, coarse fruit; and *Shevelle*, the large, red fruit. The other kinds found there are *Bonthe*, *Bengala*, *Yamei*, *Pe*, *Serva*, *Yenne pannyan* and *Pidi Mothe*. Nine kinds of plantain are grown around Bombay, chiefly near Bassein, and their names are *Basrai*, *Mutheli*, *Tambadi*, *Rajeli*, *Lokhandi*, *Sonkeli*, *Beskeli*, *Karanjeli* and *Narsingi*. *Tambadi* is the red plantain. The *Beskeli*, dried and made into meal, is esteemed a light and nourishing food for invalids and for women after child-birth. In Burma the golden and the yellow plantains are generally seen in the bazars. In the Straits Settlements the most approved varieties are the royal plantain, the milk plantain, and the golden plantain. The Malays say that they can produce new varieties of

plantain by planting close together three shoots of different kinds, and by cutting them down to the ground three successive times as they grow up to the height of nine or ten inches. The Indian Archipelago is said to possess about eighty varieties of edible plantain, many of them large and of excellent flavour. The following are noticeable:—*Pisang timbaga*, the red plantain, or, as it is locally called, the copper, or the crab, plantain; *Pisang mulut bebbek*, or plantain with a protuberance at the apex, like the beak of a duck; *Pisang Rájá* the royal plantain, and *Pisang susu*, the milk plantain. The last two are esteemed the most delicate varieties. In South Africa and the West Indian Islands the ordinary forms of *Musa sapientum* are cultivated. In Florida the form known as Oronoco is the most common. This is a highly esteemed plantain and attains its best flavour if ripened on the tree, instead of being plucked green and ripened at home, away from the parent stalk. "A head of this banana," writes an authority on the subject, "that has escaped observation by boys and crows until the rich golden fruits are dropping from the stem from over-ripeness, is a 'find' that the lover of fruits may well go into ecstacies over." The banana known in the West Indies as the "figs" is in great demand among the well-to-do classes. The fruit is small with a beautiful purple skin, and possesses an excellent flavour. But the working classes in these parts prefer the dwarf Chinese, which, though coarse in taste, produces large bunches and keeps best. In Dominica, besides the large and luscious fig banana, a small and delicate variety is also very common. It is called the "Fig Sucrier."

The productive capabilities of the plantain tree and the nourishing properties of its fruit have been greatly exaggerated, at least so far as India is concerned. It was Humboldt who first set the ball rolling, and what he said has since been copied and re-copied, in one form or another. "Three dozen fruits will maintain a person, instead of bread, for a week, and it appears better suited to him in warm countries than that kind of food," is an opinion that has been current for a long time. Unless the fruits referred to be monstrosities, like those mentioned before, the man who would undertake the experiment would certainly soon be an object of pity. An ordinary labourer can eat the number at one sitting, and still not be half satisfied, though, to a European, it may be a little cloying to the appetite, so that he cannot eat many at one time. Besides, to live on plantain alone would not be conducive to the maintenance of health, considering the large quantity of water it has in its composition. One of the latest analyses is by Corenwunder, who found in 100 parts:

water 73.9, cane-sugar and grape-sugar, etc., 19.66, nitrogenous-matter, 4.82, cellulose, 0.2, fat 0.63, with phosphoric anhydrid, lime, alkalis and iron. The average composition of Indian wheat is, water 12.5, albuminoids 13.5, starch 68.4, oil 1.2, fibre 2.7, ash 1.7. Of rice, water 12.8, albuminoids 7.3, starch 78.3, oil 0.6, fibre 0.4, ash 0.6. Its nourishing properties cannot therefore be compared with those of wheat or rice. It approaches nearer to the potato in this respect than any of the food-grains. This succulent vegetable has, approximately, the following elements:—Water 75, nitrogenous 2.1, starch 18.8, sugar 3.2, fat 0.2, salts 0.7. M. Boussingault, a French chemist, however, believed banana to be superior to potato. He gave “as rations to men employed at hard labour about 6½ lbs. of half ripe banana and 2 ounces of salt meat.” But in India, people do not consider plantain equal to wheat or rice in nutritive power, and too much use of it is held prejudicial to health. It is said to bring on cold, cough and even dropsy. *Hridam manojnam kapha briddhikari—sitancha santarpanameva balyam.* “Though pleasant to the mind, cooling and strengthening, it increases the phlegm,” so said an ancient Sanskrit author. It has also been calculated that 1600 feet of ground put under plantain yield 4,000 lbs. of nutritive substance, which will support 50 persons, while the same space sown with wheat will support only two. Again, the food-produce of plantain is 133 times that of wheat and 44 times that of potato. Whatever may be the case in other parts of the world, these statements are not borne out by actual experience in this country. Nowhere in India is it used as a staple-food, and the people would never think of so using it, nor can they live entirely upon it. But, without exaggeration of any kind, the plantain, no doubt, is highly useful to man. Except the cocoanut, and perhaps one or two others of the palm kind, there is scarcely any plant which is so serviceable. The fruit, though not so nourishing as wheaten bread, is still a valuable food. It contains almost every element of animal food, and the fragrant principles are mixed in it in such proportion, that Sir George Birdwood has rightly observed, that “it possesses all the wholesomeness and uncloying taste of the finest wheaten bread, and the attraction of the most delightful confection.” It is the only tropical fruit which, containing so much pulp, has at the same time no stone or core; and to a European it has the further recommendation, that it can be eaten “unaided by any instrument without inconvenience, and indeed most conveniently.” Well might Moore (in *Lalla Rookh*) include this valuable fruit among the good things on Jahangir’s table:—

“The board was spread with fruits and wine.
With grapes of gold, like those that shine

On Casbins' hills ;—pomegranates full
Of melting sweetness, and the pears
And sunniest apples that Caubul
In all its thousand gardens bears.
Plantain, the golden and the green,
Malaya's nectared mangausteen."

No fresh plantain is sent out from India to any foreign country, except what is taken by ships for consumption during the voyage. Considerable quantities are, however, sent from the West Indies to New York and other large cities in the United States. The export to Europe is also growing year by year. Jamaica, where the banana forms "the most extensive and the most valuable fruit interest," is highly exultant at the development of the trade. In 1875 she exported ripe plantains (bananas) of the value of £5,590; in 1880, £38,566; in 1884, £191,972. Figures for later years are not available. The Director of the Public Gardens in Jamaica wrote, about this time, that "the development of the banana industry has brought into cultivation large tracts of land formerly lying useless or in ruin, and it has also been the means of circulating nearly £200,000 per annum in ready money amongst all classes of the community." The net profit of banana cultivation in Jamaica is said to be £15 per acre. Fiji annually exports more than 40,000 bunches of banana. Although the supply is abundant in this country for export, and capable of almost unlimited expansion, there is no immediate prospect of an export trade being established with Europe, the heat in the Indian Ocean, and especially in the Red Sea, being a serious impediment in the way.

There is, however, a little internal trade in dried plantains on the Bombay coast. The industry is carried on in several villages around Bassein, and it supports about 85 families of Samvedi Brāhmans, 15 of Pachkalshis and about 75 families of Native Christians. They grow the plantains as well as dry them. It is only the *Rajeli* variety that is preserved in this way. The process is very simple :—"When the fruit is ripe, the bunch is taken from the tree and put into a basket filled with rice straw. The basket is covered for six or seven days to produce heat, and then the plantains are taken out, peeled, and spread on a booth close to the sea-shore. After lying all day in the sun, they are gathered in a heap in the evening, and left all night covered with dry plantain leaves and a mat, the heap being each time smeared with clarified butter. This is repeated for seven days, when the dried fruit is ready." At one village, Agashi, the annual yield of dried plantains is estimated at 160 tons, valued at Rs. 2700. Dried plantain is mentioned as a nourishing and antiscorbutic article of food

for long voyages. For home consumption the fruit, after being peeled, is generally cut into longitudinal slices and then dried in the sun. It is kept in well covered jars and used as dessert. An excellent jelly is also made from it. It is made thin if to be immediately used, and thick in order to be preserved for a length of time. In Mauritius, the West Indies and South America, the fruit, after being dried in the sun, is ground to powder and given as a light nourishing food to infants and invalids. Large quantities of the banana are also dried in Mexico. They call the article by the name of *Plantado pasado*. Fresh plantain, boiled and beaten in a mortar, is a favourite food of the negroes. They call it *Foo-foo*. Large quantities of meal are made in Africa, the West Indies and South America, from both the green (unripe) plantain and the ripe banana. The former, is specially known there as plantain meal. It is called *conquin-tay* in Guiana. "It is whitish with dark red specks, a fragrance like orris-root, and a taste like wheat flower, and is made into excellent and nourishing dishes." The fruit is peeled and sliced with a bamboo knife, as a steel knife injures the colour. It is said that a bunch, on an average, yields 5 lbs of meal, and the annual outturn per acre is estimated at 450 bunches of plantain and one ton of meal. In the warm parts of America this meal, as well as the fresh plantain, are used as the staple food. The meal is made into biscuits, but the green, unripe plantain, as has already been stated, is chiefly used as a vegetable, and is eaten cooked. The green plantain, (*i. e.* the plantain eaten in its green state, not ripe, for some plantains are of green colour in their ripe state) is the principal article of food of the negro peasantry in British Guiana, and its production is next in importance to that of sugar. The juices of the green plantain, when unripe, contain very valuable salts, and probably for that reason it has been a favourite vegetable with the Brāhmans of India. It contains :—Potash 25.27, soda 9.52, lime 15.85, magnesia 5.0, alumina 0.87, chlorine 6.3, sulphuric anhydrid 0.96, phosphoric anhydrid 9.87, silica 0.81 and carbonic anhydrid 34.17. In South America a fermented liquor is made from the plantain. An excellent temperance drink is also prepared from the dried fruit. The pulp of the ripe fruit, after being pressed and passed through a cane sieve, is first wrapped in the green leaves and then dried in the sun. When required, a little portion is taken out of it and dissolved in water, the result being a refreshing and nourishing drink which is also very pleasant to the taste.

In the West Indies, a good and wholesome starch is obtained from plantain by rasping and washing. In Hindu medical books the properties of the ripe plantain are stated to be astringent, sweet, cooling, antibilious, heavy for digestion, aphrodisiac,

vermifuge, and also worm producing, &c. The unripe plantain is cooling, astringent, &c.; the *chámpá* form is antibilious, heavy, aphrodisiac, very cooling. It should be eaten with milk, curd, whey, or with the pulp of the palmyra palm fruit, made into cakes. The meal of the *chámpá* form is said to be good in diabetes.

Mahomedan doctors and *Yunáni* Hakims consider the ripe plantain "sweet, cool, moist and heavy; increases flatulence and mucus; useful in disorders of bile, blood, wind, and heat of the chest." Dr. Playfair, who tried the medical virtues of the plantain, stated:—"This I have found very effectual as an aphrodisiac and as a tonic to the brain. It weakens the stomach and is heavy—its corrector is cardamum seed. The *Yunani* physicians say, that its correctors are honey, gum and ginger."

The next most useful product of the plant is its fibre. But, with various other fibre-sources abounding in India, sufficient attention has not yet been paid to this point of its usefulness. As a paper-material it has already been utilised, though on a limited scale. With the demand for paper increasing in the country, and with the opening of new paper mills to meet the demand, it is expected that a time will come when old rags, jute-cutting, *Munj*-grass, and *Bhábar* grass will so rise in price as to make the manufacturers look about for a cheaper stuff. The plantain stems, now rotting in villages and jungles, or given to cattle when better fodder is not procurable, will then command such a price as to make it worth the while of the cultivators to bring them to the mills. It has been proved by experience that paper of superior quality can be made from the plantain fibre. As late as 1846, one Mr. Clay showed Dr. Royle some note and letter paper of excellent quality made from this fibre. In 1851 Dr. Hunter prepared some specimens both of raw fibre and paper. "The fibre was about four feet in length, and also dyed of several colours, as well as twisted into fine cord and into rope. Some plantain rope was, moreover, sent in a tarred state. A portion of the tow was sent in a state fit for packing and stuffing, and some converted into paper; of the latter, some was almost as thin as silver paper, and some of it seemingly as tough and tenacious as parchment, well fitted for packing paper, as being apparently little affected by water." Mr. Liotard, in his "Memorandum on the materials in India suitable for the manufacture of paper," mentions other specimens of fibre and paper which were made and exhibited from time to time. For cordage purposes the fibre of the different species of the Indian plantain, (*Musa paradisiaca*, *Musa Ornata*, etc.) is said to be not much inferior to the Manilla hemp, the product of *Musa textilis*. In 1822,

a cord, made out of a small sample of fibre from *Musa ornata*, was exhibited before the Agri-Horticultural Society of India, and was pronounced by experts "in no way inferior to English whip cord." The strength of the plantain fibre was compared with others by Dr. Royle. He found a cord made of Madras plantain bore a weight of 190 lbs., while one made of Singapore plantain bore 390 lbs. A "salvage" of Pittsburgh hemp of the same length and thickness broke with 160 lbs. A thicker rope, made of Indian plantain fibre, viz., a twelve-threaded rope, broke with 864 lbs., while a similar rope made of pine-apple fibre broke with 924 lbs. But the fibre of the *Musa textilis*, i. e., the Manilla hemp, or the Abaca of the Philippines, of which ship cordage is made, is certainly superior to the ordinary Indian plantain fibre. It is said that a delicate cloth is fabricated from this fibre. "The fine grass cloth, ship's cordage and ropes, which are made and used in the South Sea fisheries, are made from it." *Musa textilis* is a native of the Philippine Islands, where it grows best on hilly lands, in soil containing decayed vegetable matter and plenty of moisture. The fruit is not edible. The climate of many parts of India is suitable to its growth. Indeed, it is now growing in Bengal, Bombay and Madras, especially in the last-named Presidency. Government experiments are now being made with this plant in the Andamans, and the despatch of an expert to Manilla to study the subject, is under contemplation. It would be premature to say yet what the result will be, but *Musa textilis* seems to be worth the attention of European planters in India. It may be useful to give here shortly the manner of producing the fibre in the Philippine Islands. The plant can be grown from seeds, but suckers are preferred. They are placed six to nine feet apart, the intervening space being soon filled up by new shoots. In two years the plantation begins to yield fibre, but a full crop is not obtained until the fourth year. The trees should not be allowed to bear fruit, as in that case the fibre would be worthless, but should be cut down when the first stems are thrown out, and the leaves of the plant, instead of spreading out on all sides, are close together. The layers of the leaf-stalks are then separated from the stems, cut into strips of about three inches wide, which are drawn through between a blunt knife and a board to remove the pulpy matter. The strips are then dried in the sun, and when thoroughly dry, they form the Manilla fibre for the market. More than 40,000 tons of this fibre are annually produced in the Philippine Islands. The price is about Rs. 16 per cwt. It has been written in some books that a kind of cloth is usually woven at Dacca from the plantain fibre; but this is

not the case. A piece of cloth is sometimes made as a curiosity. A gold bordered handkerchief, made entirely from the plantain fibre, was exhibited by the Dacca weavers at the late Calcutta International Exhibition of 1883-84. This sample cloth can now be seen in the Art-ware Court of the Indian Museum. It looks almost like a tusser-cloth from a distance. The gloss is good, but the toughness of the fibre can be felt by touch. The price is high, Rs. 50 for a piece only 33 inches square. It is, however, certainly a work of art.

Besides the fruit, as a valuable food-product, and the fibre, which seems to have a prospect before it in the distant future, every part of the plantain tree comes to the use of man. The flower-head, called *Mocha* in Bengal, is an excellent vegetable. It is nourishing, and is said to have a salutary effect on the action of the kidneys. In former days no feast could be complete without a hotch-potch of the plantain-flower being served after the distribution of the rice. A special variety of the plantain called *Dogre* is cultivated in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, solely for the flower-head and the pith, for its fruit is full of seeds and is not eatable. In Hindu medical books plantain flower is described as possessing about the same qualities as the fruit. Thus in the *Bhávaprakásh*—

Kadalyam kusuman snigdham madhurantivarasm gurú.

Váta-pitta haram sitam raktapitta kshaya pranut.

The pith, called *Thor* in Bengali, and *Kalicha gavha* in *Márháthi*, is also largely eaten cooked as a vegetable. It is said to counteract the excess of saline matter in the blood which people, living near the sea, in a swampy country like that of the Gangetic Delta, are believed to contract. The pith of the *Musa textilis* is also eaten on the Bombay Coast. In some parts of Africa, the seeds of the plantain are eaten fried in butter, specially those of a species called the "horse-plantain," which grows plentifully in Ethiopia and South Africa, and bears a fruit a foot in length, full of hard, black seeds. All parts of the plant are given to cattle as fodder. The leaves and the leaf-stalks are excellent green fodder. But the stem, which is given chopped very fine, contains too large a proportion of water to be very nutritive or wholesome. It comes useful, however, when other cattle-food fails. The root is more nourishing. Cut into fine pieces, it looks like sea-biscuits, and is liked by the cattle. As a valuable remedy for diabetes, the juice of the root forms one of the principle ingredients in the preparation of the medicine known as the *Kadalyádi-ghrita*. It is also described in the Hindu *Materia Medica* as strengthening, a corrector of wind and bile, and heavy. The rind of the ripe fruit is also a favourite food

with them. In short, every part of the plant is cattle-food. In many parts of the country the stem also comes to use in games and amusements, as a mark to shoot arrows at, or to exhibit dexterity of hand or sword practice. In Coorg it "is considered a feat of strength to cut one through at a blow with the Coorg knife." There is a curious custom among the Muhammedans of Aligarh, of cutting several plantain trees from a garden on the last day of the Muharram festival. The rind is employed in some parts of India as a dye, to impart to leather a black colour. During the last scarcity in Southern India, the rind of the fruit was largely eaten by the people in the Belgaum District as a famine food. In preparing the wafer-biscuits, called *Pápar*, the juice of the inner part of the stem is used in some places to moisten the dough. In Kolhapur the juice is also used by the peasantry to stop bleeding. A similar use is made of this astringent juice in Jamaica. It is made to ooze out from the body of the plant by thrusting a knife into it, and "is given with great success to persons subject to spitting blood, and in fluxes." In Java, the leaves of certain species exude so large a quantity of a waxy substance on their under-surface, that the people there collect it and make it into candles. It is not seen in such large quantities in India, where it appears only as a very thin layer of chalky dust on the under-side of the leaves. In time of sudden floods, in places where they are not usual or expected, several stems of the plantain are joined together and made into rafts on which the people float up and down, visiting their neighbours. If the story of Benlo is to be believed, the people in former days used to go to distant places on such rafts. The story of Benlo is a simple one, and may be shortly related here:—

Benlo was a poor widow, the wife of Lakhindar, the son of a rich merchant named Chánd Saudágar, living somewhere up the Bhágirathi. Proud of his wealth, he would not pay homage to the snake-goddess Manasá. But, with the usual weakness of a divine being, and a female into the bargain, she, on her part, evinced a strong desire to taste all the good things which it was in the power of such a wealthy man as Chánd Saudágar to offer. Every other means having failed, she at last went in person to the rich man and begged him to worship her. But all her entreaties and threats were in vain; the old man was inexorable. So she threatened him with the death of his seven sons, but still the old man would not yield. One by one, she caused his sons to be bitten by her snakes, and one by one they died, except the youngest; but still the old man remained firm. At length, the turn came for the seventh son, Lakhindar; and it was foretold that he would

die of snake-bite on his marriage night. As a precautionary measure, Chánd, the old obstinate father, caused an iron room to be built, which he thought would be quite snake-proof. Lakhindar was married to Benlo, a maiden of exquisite beauty. On the marriage-night, Lakhindar and she went to sleep in the iron room, and, notwithstanding that she remained awake and tried her best to save her husband from the curse, Lakhindar was bitten by a snake and he died before day-break. The poor widow, however, resolved to get her husband back to life. So she prepared a raft made of plantain stems, and, taking the bones of her husband upon it, floated down the river, down, down, till she met the goddess somewhere near the mouth of the Hugli. The goddess, seeing her devotedness to her husband and her faith in her goodness, promised to bring Lakhindar back to life if the old man would only worship her. With this promise Benlo returned home, fell at her father-in-law's feet, and, with tears in her eyes, begged him to worship Manasá, the queen-goddess of the snakes. The old man, stricken with age and grief, and sufficiently humbled by this time, reluctantly consented, but on condition that, if he did worship at all, he would do it with the left hand and not with the right. This was not very respectful, but the goddess saw that she must either accept that or go without any worship. So she agreed to the compromise, and when she was thoroughly satisfied with the offerings, she gave back the life of all the sons of Chánd, and there was peace and harmony ever afterwards between the goddess and the man.

This is a very old story of the plantain stems being used as a raft.

In the indigenous village schools of Bengal, plantain leaf is used by advanced students as a substitute for paper. At the beginning they learn to write the alphabet on the floor, or on a wooden board, with a piece of chalk. When they have had sufficient practice in this mode of writing, they next use palm-leaves. Writing on palm-leaves, they learn the alphabet and make some progress in arithmetic. The next step is the plantain leaf, and lastly paper. The *Bidi*, or the cigarettes of Western India, are often wrapped with dried plantain leaves. Plantain leaves are also used for packing purposes. New tender leaves, which have not yet unfolded themselves, form an excellent cooling cover for blister surfaces. To dress a blister, "a piece of the leaf, of the required size, smeared with any bland vegetable oil, is applied to the denuded surface, and kept on the place by means of a bandage. The blistered surface is generally found to heal after four or five days." In ophthalmic diseases, a piece of the leaf forms a good shade for the eyes. In some parts of Africa, houses are thatched with

plantain leaves. In the villages of Bengal, dry plantain leaves are burnt, and the alkaline ash thus obtained is used to wash clothes at home. But the most important use of the leaf is as a ready-made plate off which to eat rice and vegetables. As such it is largely used in times of feasts and festivals, when a large number of guests are fed and sufficient plates are not available. It is specially so when low-caste men are feasted, whom no high-caste man will allow the use of his brass plate. The leaf is thrown away after the food has once been eaten off it. In Bengal the plantain leaf is not ordinarily used as a plate, at least not so much as in South India. In Madras it is extensively used, and in Kanara and Malabar the plantain is not more cultivated for its fruit, than for its leaf, to be used for this purpose. The custom of eating off plantain leaves is well illustrated in the *Tachcholi* ballad, a popular song in Malabar, narrating the thrilling adventures of Tachcholi, a Robin Hood of South India :—

"Tachcholi Meppayil Kunti Odenam
 Took an oil bath, and rubbed over his body
 A mixture of perfume, sandalwood and musk,
 And sat down for dinner.
 A Kadali plantain leaf was spread.
 His sister Tachcholi Unchira,
 Served him the dinner.
 Fine lily-white rice,
 A large quantity of pure ghi
 And eleven kinds of vegetable curries.

Both the fruit and the tree are used for various sacred purposes. It is a fruit acceptable to both gods and men. On fast days nothing could be a purer food than plantain and milk. In the worship of all the gods it is an indispensable article. The goddess Shashthi, the Protectress of infants, is specially fond of this fruit. So the proverb runs : Shashthi, *Kalá Khábár Goshthi* : "Shashthi is a host by herself to eat plantain." An entire cluster of the fruit is absolutely necessary for her worship, which takes place on the twenty-first day after child-birth, if the infant is a boy, and the tenth day if a girl. Plantain fruit is also absolutely necessary in the marriage ceremony. Plantain and rice are the two ingredients for making the balls offered to the ancestral manes. The Muhammadan saints (*Pirs*) are also fond of the fruit. An offering made to them called the *Kancha-sinni*, made of wheaten flour, milk, sugar, and plantain are specially acceptable to the *Pirs*. The plant itself is an emblem of happiness and plenty, and one with a bunch of the fruit is, therefore, planted on each side of the gate, and in other conspicuous places, on all auspicious occasions. In the great festival of Bengal, the *Durgá Pujá*,

a plantain tree is tied together with a branch or a shoot of eight other plants and worshipped. These eight other plants are pomegranate, rice, turmeric, arun, bel, *Asok Jayanti* and *Bijreya*. They, together, form what is called the *Nava patriká*, or the "nine leaves," and are looked upon for the time being as the arborified symbol of nine goddesses, *Brahmáni*, *Rudráni*, &c. This is vulgarly known as the *Kalábau*, or the plantain-wife of Ganesh, the god of success and wisdom. With his elephant-head, it was not likely that he could win the good graces of any of the numerous divine maids of heaven; so he had to be contented with a plantain tree, as some kind of wife, is better than no kind of wife, that being the universal opinion in the country where he is a god. In the marriage ceremony the plantain tree is also highly useful. A square is made by planting four trees at the four angles, in the middle of which the bridegroom is made to sit and bathe, after his body has been smeared with turmeric paste. On the Bombay side, the plantain tree is worshipped by dutiful wives. It is said, in a book called *Vrata-ráj*, that the devotion paid to the tree prolongs the lives of their husbands, and saves them from the curse of widowhood by their being called away before their husbands. In symbolic funerals, in which the effigy of a Hindu is burnt for want of the real corpse, the plantain leaf is used to represent the brow, while the head is made of a cocoanut, and the body of the sacred grass, the *Palás* leaves (*Butea frondosa*) and other articles. At a funeral ceremony, when offerings are made to the souls of the dead, the lower part of the long leaf-stalks, which by their layers make the spurious stem, are made into oblong, convex vessels, in which the various kinds of articles required for the rite are placed. The family priests are experts in making such vessels, and for that reason they are nicknamed by the irreverent laymen as the " *Kholá-Kátá* Brahmans ", or Brahmans fit only to cut out the funeral vessels. Toy-boats are also made from these lower leaf-stalks. Adorned with the marigold flower, and filled with sweets, one such boat is offered to the gods by every mother in Bengal on the last day of Pous, or about the middle of January. The boat is then given to the boys to float in a neighbouring tank or river. This is said to be in memory of the maritime voyages of Srimanta *Saudagar*, a rich merchant, who took his ships to Ceylon and other places, and by this means acquired fabulous wealth. In offering the toy-boat, the mothers pray to the gods that their sons may be blessed with similar wealth. Although the Buddhists did not worship the plantain tree as they did their sacred Bo-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) it was too graceful a plant to be omitted from their architectural details. It is therefore seen carved on stones in the Sanchi Tope, in the garden

scene near the lake, of which an illustration has been given in Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship."

Human beings are not alone fond of the plantain. It is a favourite food with birds, apes and all graminivorous animals. As the plantains in a bunch gradually ripen, the upper ones first and the lower ones last, birds and squirrels may be seen flocking near a tree on which the fruit has commenced to mature. The bunches are, therefore, cut in their green state just before the fruit begins to ripen, as otherwise birds, squirrels and bats would go on eating the fruit before it was half-ripe. They gradually ripen at home, their colour changing from green to yellow, or red, as the nature of the fruit may be. Sometimes artificial means are resorted to to hasten the ripening, especially in varieties in which the rind is tough and leathery. This is done by placing the newly cut bunches in a conical heap, which is covered with a thick layer of clay, a small opening being left at the bottom. Through this opening smoke of burning cowdung is blown inside the heap, by means of a tube. When the inside is full of smoke, the aperture is closed. This is repeated for several days until the plantains are ripe. Bats are very destructive to the plantain if it is not plucked from the tree before it is ripe. In Borneo, the horse-shoe bat, a formidable creature, about four feet broad and one foot long, is particularly fond of this fruit. Snakes are also said to be fond of plantain. "I cherished the black serpent with milk and plantain" is a proverb current in this country to express the perfidy of a friend, or the bad conduct of a child. But the animal most fond of plantain is the ape, and this fondness has almost run into a proverb. To call a man a lover of plantain is to call him an ape. Apes exhibited the love of plantain from pre-historic times. When the great conflict of *Rámáyana* was over, and Hanumán, the monkey-god, became immortal through the blessing of Sítá, an extensive plantain forest was given to him as a freehold for his support. Here, an age after, he was found by Bhima, one of the heroes of the *Mohábhárata* and the brother of the monkey, he, too, being the son of the god of the wind.

Athá pashyamahábahur gandhar

mádana sanusha.

Suramyañ Kadali shandan bahu

yojana bistritam.

etc. etc.

"The Mahábáhu, (*i.e.*, Bhima), afterwards saw large numbers of beautiful plantain trees in the Gandhamádan mountain," &c. &c. Indian ghosts are no less fond of plantains. Indeed, no ghost can be invoked without a sufficient supply of milk, plantain and sweets being kept ready for his refreshment.

Some ghosts are even so gluttonous that they take possession of a man or a woman with the object of extorting a good dinner. A case of this kind occurred a short time ago in Kolhapur. A woman named Sítá tripped and had a fall. The ghost of an up-country sepoy, who was loitering about, finding her at a disadvantage took possession of her. For a long time afterwards the woman was very much troubled by the ghost, and her husband, after vainly trying the local exorcists, brought one from a distance whose reputation was great over the country. By his charms and incantations he at length made that ghost confess. He said—"Don't do that ; don't use your charms ; I am leaving the woman. I am a Pardeshi Sepoy. I was a soldier in the 27th Regiment, and was killed when the Regiment mutinied. I saw the woman passing the Ponlay pond, and I wished to take possession of her. I am now leaving her. But give me a dinner of rice, wheat bread, clarified butter and *plantains*." The dinner was of course given, and the ghost never troubled her afterwards.

The plantain is also credited with many wonderful attributes. For instance, the thunderbolt is said to stick on a plantain tree, if by chance it falls upon it, and cannot go back to heaven. Every one knows that thunder is the weapon of Indra, the king of the celestial regions. He is often very much troubled by a demoness of surpassing beauty. Her name is Bidyut, the English synonym for which is Lightning. Whenever there are black clouds in the sky, she takes advantage of the shelter afforded by them, comes out on the open field of heaven for a moment, flickers for a while before the face of Indra, and when the wrathful god throws his thunderbolt upon her, she evades it, and hides herself between the clouds. But a terrible momentum has been given to the thunderbolt, and it therefore pursues its course downwards and falls upon houses, trees, men and cattle, and then retraces its course to Indra. But when it falls upon a plantain tree, it cannot go back, and there it sticks. The burglar, who is always on the look out for this precious article, hails it as a valuable "find," takes it, and in the depth of night, when everybody is asleep passes it through the window of the blacksmith (who always keeps it open for this very object), along with the fee for his labour to make it into a burglar's tool. The blacksmith turns the thunderbolt into a jemmy and leaves it on the window. The burglar comes back as before, in the depth of night, and takes it away. This has given rise to the proverb : "The thief and the blacksmith do not see each other," which is quoted when the employer and the employed, or two parties in a work, do not meet. This jemmy made of a thunderbolt possesses the worderful virtue of piercing a hole in the wall as soon as it is

touched with it, without making the least noise, or awaking the inmates of the house. This is how the burglars manage to plunder. But the crow-bars which the police shew are not the real *sindh-kati* (jemmy) of a burglar.

In former times, in Northern India, it was also popularly believed that camphor is produced from the plantain tree. The author of *Tálib Shrif*, a Persian *Materia Medica*, says: "The people of India have said that camphor is produced from the best kind of the plantain fruit, called the *Imrut bián*, but those who say so are ignorant ; the camphor tree is a different one." Abul Fazl, in the *Ayin-i-Akbri*, also mentions this and another curious belief current among the people. He writes : "The vulgar believe that the plantain tree yields camphor ; but this is wrong, for the camphor tree, as shall be hereafter explained, is a different tree, although it has the same name. They also say that pearls originate in plantain trees, another statement upon which the light of truth does not shine."

T. N. M.

ART. V.—THE BEGINNINGS OF DUTCH COMMERCE IN INDIA.*

ON the 4th November 1605, the Factor, Paul van Soldt left Bantam, in the Island of Java, for the Coromandel Coast, and other parts of India. † Having landed, and

Voyage of the Factor, Paul van Soldt, from Bantam to India.

remained some time, in various ports, especially in the Island of Sumatra, he arrived, not sooner

than the 24th April 1606, at St. Thomas, where anchor was cast. A Hollander named Martin Tielmanssen van Neck, in the service of the Portuguese, came on board the ship as soon as it had cast anchor, to request the Hollanders not to destroy a gallion, two-thirds of which belonged to him and his brother-in-law, Antonio de Taide. He offered to present the factor with a gold chain and a handsome ruby, and to pay the crew a reasonable sum of money, but the Hollanders replied that nothing would induce them to neglect their duty towards their country and spare its foes. They nevertheless invited him to spend the night on board, and he agreed, sending his boat back to inform the people that nothing untoward had befallen him, but that there was no hope of saving their vessels. The next morning they sent back the boat loaded with provisions; and in return, Antonio de Taide received an ell and a half of scarlet-cloth, six small glass vases and three mirrors. The same boat also took back Martin Tielmanssen, who had spent the night in exalting the power of the Portuguese, narrating that the new Viceroy of Goa had started, six weeks previously, for India, with 20 ships and as many fustas; and that this year nine ships had arrived at Goa, with several fustas and caravels; the Hollanders however discredited these assertions. The town contained some 600 Portuguese, who kept slaves. The following description is given of Mount St. Thomas, near the present Madras, and Maliapoor:—

“At the north-end of the town there is a mountain of some height, with a church built by the King of the island in honour of St. Thomas. The Portuguese go there every day for prayers, and appear to be very devout. Between this mountain and the town there is a river, the mouth of which is barred by sands. This is the same river from which St. Thomas, according to the report of Huygens, is said to have taken

* Concluded from No. CLXXXI, for July 1890, page 70.

† T. V. p. 105, seq.

a big tree of which the doors of the church were made. From this river, for a distance of two musket-shots from the town, on the north side, another little river flows, and by these two rivers the whole jurisdiction, or rather franchise, of the Portuguese is enclosed ; inasmuch as all the vessels that stop outside it, either north or south, are forthwith seized by the natives. To the north of the small river is situated Maliapor, or Meliapur, where the idolaters and Muhammadans reside, the inhabitants of St. Thomas being all Armenians, Portuguese, or Mestitzoes. The people there live in a strange and barbarous manner. They have neither Magistrates, nor laws, nor police, but administer justice themselves. When they have a quarrel, they fire their muskets at each other without ceremony ; and if a man's enemy passes through the street, he shoots at him from his window. They are the strongest who have most friends, and they glory in committing violence, murder and treachery. Tielmanssen boasted of having got rid of two men whom he did not like."

After a sail of scarcely a day, the ship cast anchor at Pulicat, and, the next day, which was the 27th April, the Naik, or governor of the place sent a pirogue with provisions, asking who the foreigners were and what they wanted. A reply was sent that they were Hollanders, and demanded liberty to trade, with a request that some merchants, or other respectable men, might be sent on board, to treat with them.

In the afternoon the Sabandar and a Turkish merchant, who had resided a long time at Meliapur, brought a letter signed by the Naik, giving the Hollanders permission to send people on shore, and to sell their goods, on payment of 4 per cent. duty at entering and at departing, which appeared reasonable enough, considering the assurance that had been given that his word might be trusted.

The Hollanders informed the Sabandar that they would gladly leave wares in the town if they were assured that they would not be deprived of them by the Portuguese, who, after the departure of the ship, would make offers of purchases and promises of payment, but were not to be trusted ; wherefore a document to that effect would be required from the great King. They replied that they would report this condition to the Naik, who would, that very evening, despatch a courier to the said prince.

The people of the town seemed much pleased with the arrival of the Hollanders, telling them that in less than two months they could procure cloth enough to load their vessel, and undertaking that, if they would trade honestly and treat the people well, they would do them no harm, and they might enter and leave the harbour and anchor freely without apprehension.

At the same time they admitted that they could not suppress their natural bent, when offended or deceived, to avenge themselves if an opportunity presented itself.

Contrary to the promise made, nobody came on board on the 21st, but in the afternoon one of the principal Brahmans, with the secretary of the town and some other persons, who brought entirely different samples of cloth from those which had been promised, came with an invitation from the Naik to come on shore and converse with him. The Hollanders demanded hostages, and, as they had seen fires along the shore during the whole of the previous night, and heard discharges of swivel guns and muskets, they demanded an explanation of the cause, and were told that it was to celebrate a marriage which was taking place. On their asking to see the goods of the Hollanders and wanting to fix their price at once, they were told that, if they brought acceptable cloths, the goods would be shown and sold to them. Thereon they insisted that some persons should come on shore, but, on being told that this could not be done unless the Brahman, and a merchant, Mustafa by name, remained on board, they promised to make a report to the Naik, and bring an answer the next day.

When the Brahman and his company had departed, one of the blacks of the ship, who had been spending the preceding night on shore, reported that some treachery was brewing. The door-keeper, or sacristan of the Muhammadan mosque, he said, had recommended him to inform the Hollanders, that, on the very evening on which they arrived in the roadstead of Pulicat, the inhabitants had sent letters to St. Thomas calling for 150 or 200 Portuguese, and to warn them not to come on shore. He further reported that, besides the Portuguese vessels in the river, there were also three fustas, and that he had seen from six to seven vessels; that the slaves of the Portuguese were forcibly taking victuals, fish, betel and other things from the inhabitants; that they had erected a cross in the public square, and that he had seen in the town the Turkish merchant Mustafa, who was alleged to be absent. All these things were quite contrary to what the visitors to the ship had stated; namely, that the Portuguese had no authority whatever in the town, and that they had been so frightened at the approach of the Dutch vessels that they had all retired.

The Brahman now came on board again, with three or four others, who offered to remain until the persons who might be sent on shore, should return. Immediately afterwards a pirogue arrived, with some merchants, who brought samples of Sarassas, or painted cloth of Patan; they also expressed a wish to

purchase sandal-wood and other goods, and showed the gold they had brought to pay for them. On being told that painted cloth was wanted, they replied that they would get it prepared in six weeks or two months, according to the samples they had shown ; and that this was the month in which work of all sorts was commenced, so as to have it finished by the end of July, which was the time when the ships began loading. Though the Brahman made a great point of some Hollanders being sent to the Naik, the council, after a consultation, decided that none could be sent, unless two Portuguese would serve as hostages. The Brahman now expressed his astonishment at the unwillingness of the Hollanders to keep their promise, though he had brought two or three more persons than were required, all of whom were prepared to remain, and there was no use in asking for Portuguese, since it was well known that the Naik had no power to send any. Finally, he observed, that it would appear very discourteous on the part of the Hollanders not to wait for the reply of the King, who had been written to at their solicitation.

He reiterated his request and adjured the Hollanders to send at least one sailor, or a ship-boy, on shore, to speak to the Naik and note the state of affairs, adding that they were all ready to remain on board as hostages for a single individual till his return. The Hollanders thereupon informed him that they had only too just cause for suspicion, and told him what they had heard. Upon that all protested that they had no knowledge of the matter, adding that such reports were not to be credited hastily, as they might have been propagated by the Portuguese themselves in order to induce the Hollanders to retire.

The ship sailed on 30th April and arrived on the 3rd May, 1606, in the roadstead of Pettupouli, where anchor was cast. The same evening, a letter was sent to the town, demanding permission to trade, and on the 4th an interpreter came on board with a note from the Governor, inviting the Dutchmen to land without fear, and confer with him.

Dirck van Leeuwen and Peter Warkyn were thereupon deputed to land and see what kind of cloth the place contained, whether any men ought to be left there, and whether the duties to be paid were not excessive. The Governor and the chief merchants afforded them every facility on these points, and said that if the factor of the ship would confer with them, they would explain things more fully ; meanwhile they might return on board with the assurance that only what was reasonable would be demanded.

On the 6th, about 2 P. M., the factor entered the town, and was

received with much courtesy and conducted to the custom house. He had scarcely arrived there when the Governor, accompanied by the principal merchants, who were Persians, and followed by an escort of about 200 men under arms, made his appearance. He told the factor that he was pleased at the arrival of his ship, and hoped the trade which might arise would prove profitable to both sides, he offering to do on his part all that was reasonable for that purpose.

When everything had been arranged, and an agreement come to with the factor concerning the duties to be paid, the Governor sent for fencers, who combated according to their own fashion, as well as for courtesans, who performed several dances. After that he made the factor enter a sumptuous palan-keen and the others mount horses, and promenaded them through the town, where flowers were thrown before them.

The factor was then taken to a house which had been assigned to him to live in.

On the 7th, the factor paid a visit to the Governor, and presented him with four ells of scarlet-cloth, four ells of velvet, four glasses, mirrors, nutmegs, nutmeg flowers and cloves, which were accepted with much pleasure. On his asking permission to buy a piece of ground for the erection of a counting-house, a commodious locality was promised him. On the 8th, he had an interview with the two Persians, who enjoyed the greatest power, and made them presents. They promised to summon all the workmen of the town and neighbourhood to produce samples of the various kinds of cloth manufactured there.

On the 9th, the goods that were to be left at Pettapouli were landed, and Dirck van Leeuwen was authorised to reside there, and take charge of them, Peter Warkyn being associated with him as sub-factor. On the 10th, 11th, and 12th, bargains were struck with the Governor and the two Persians, for cloths to be manufactured according to samples; and they made workmen come to their houses, who drew the designs furnished them, and ordered them to do the work as quickly as possible. At the same time a plot of ground, to build upon, was purchased for 12 pagodas.

After completing the necessary arrangements, and leaving the two men abovenamed at Pettapouli, the ship sailed, on the 14th, for Masulipatam, where it arrived on the 17th, after encountering a kind of hurricane blowing from the coast.

On the 19th May, a sloop put off from the shore, sent by the Governor and by the Subandar of Masulipatam, to take the factor and the master of the ship on shore. On reaching the custom house, they were received with great courtesy by the principal citizens of the town, who had assembled

there ; presents were given them, and public women were made to dance for their entertainment, according to the fashion of the country. Noticing that the factor had a sore foot, the Governor sent for a palankeen, the merchants mounted horses, and all marched in the midst of a crowd of armed men, to the sound of trumpets and fifes with great pomp, preceded by the dancing women, through the streets of the town, till they reached the lodging which had been prepared for them.

On the 20th, they paid a visit to the Governor, to arrange about the payment of the customs dues before taking their goods into the town. As the dues had been agreed upon at Nasanpatan and Pettapouli at very reasonable rates, the same were proposed here also, but, as some belonged to the Governor, he would not consent to their being reduced, but insisted on charging 4 per cent. duty on entering, and 16 on leaving. At last he agreed to a reduction to $3\frac{1}{2}$ in the former case, but would not consent to any in the latter, and the Hollanders, being unwilling to submit to so heavy an impost, determined to see the king himself and make their representation to him ; meanwhile they began conveying their goods into the town.

The reason of the very friendly relations between the Hollanders and the natives at Pettapouli and Masulipatam is not revealed in the work from which I draw my information, but there seems to be no doubt that they must have known each other before, or the Hollanders would not have sent their own people on shore to treat with the natives, without receiving hostages on board, as they had done at the places previously mentioned. The arrangement to settle their difference by a direct appeal to the king also, shows that they entertained no apprehension of being ill treated. On the 25th May, the council of the ship actually resolved to send two deputies to wait upon the king at Bisnagar, in order to confer with him on the subject of the dues. The first of these deputies was Paul van Soldt, and the second his assistant Peter Willemssz, sub-factor of the dépôt. On the 9th June, all the goods that were to be left at Masulipatam had been landed ; and Peter Isaak had given a receipt and taken charge of them. On the morning of the 10th, the two deputies left in palankeens for Bisnagar, with forty men to wait on them, besides bearers to carry the presents, two interpreters, and four sailors, all of whom rode on oxen.

Our narrator is altogether reticent about the journey to and reception at Bisnagar, and only states that on the 30th, while they were there, the factor, Paul van Soldt, was informed that his people had met with a very disagreeable adventure at Masulipatam owing to an inundation which had befallen the town.

On hearing this, he decided to take leave of the chief men at the Court, the more so as every thing had been arranged, and he was merely waiting to get the signature of the King to the document by which permission to trade and a reduction of duties were granted to the Hollanders. This document was to have been issued after a festival in the celebration of which the Court was just then engaged ; accordingly van Soldt left Peter Willemsz behind to wait for it, as it was merely a second Firmān, they having already received the first one sealed, and the second being required merely for form's sake.

Thus, on the morning of the 1st August, 1606, van Soldt left Bisnagar to return to Masulipatam. On the 8th, he arrived at Condepili, to treat with the governor of the fort about the ransom of three Dutchmen who had deserted in the previous year with the intention of joining the Portuguese, but had been taken prisoners by the inhabitants of Condepili. An agreement was made with the governor, to lend him the sum of 1,000 pagodas, without interest, for six months, to be repaid at the end of that time in cloth, according to the current price.

On the 10th, van Soldt reached Masulipatam, where he was received by the son of the Subandar and several of the chief inhabitants, who congratulated him on the favour shown him by the King. He found John Gerritsz, the master of the ship, who had been attacked by dysentery immediately after his departure, on the point of death. Immense havoc had been committed among the provisions in the store-room of the ship by worms [white ants ?], and when a quarter-master desired to examine whether the biscuit bin had also suffered, he sank into it up to his waist.

On the 15th, the master of the ship died, and was buried at Masulipatam, and on the 19th, Peter Willemsz returned from Bisnagar, bringing with him the Firmān signed and sealed by the King. The privileges granted were as follows :—

The import and export duties to be 4 per cent. in all the ports of the kingdom which the Hollanders might enter, as well as in those in which they were at present. Weavers, painters, smiths, and other artizans or tradesmen who might be working for the Hollanders, or had received money from them for the purpose of doing so, could not be taken away or employed by the King, or any one else, until they had completed their jobs. All agents and brokers to be allowed to go to the house of the Hollanders, who were to be allowed to employ any brokers they liked, without being compelled to take those whom the Government might give them. The King also abolished in their favour the right of Shappa Dellalla, or seal, with which cloths mere marked to pay a duty amounting to 12 per cent.

The cost of this journey, including presents, wages of servants, transport, food, &c., amounted to 3,800 livres.

On the 1st September 1606, a country vessel arrived from Nasanpatan, from Dirck van Leeuwen, with 22 packages of cloth and handkerchiefs which had been purchased by him; and on the 4th Peter Isaaksz conveyed those which he had procured on board, and on the 11th, 130 pieces more. On the same day the prisoners who had been released from Condepili, arrived on board. On the morning of the 15th, the Hollanders went to the custom house to take leave of the Governor and the Subandar, who were waiting for them, and who conducted them to the ship; and in the afternoon they set sail in company with a vessel belonging to the Governor, loaded with rice and 2,000 pounds of steel, and arrived off the coast of Sumatra,* on the 2nd November, 1606.

The whole fleet, a portion of which had started from Texel on the 20th April 1606, had assembled by the 3rd June, when the final start was made. It was composed of eight ships, *viz.* the *Banda*, of 600 tons, commanded by the Admiral Paul van Caerden; the *Bantam*, of 700, the *Ceylon*, of 340 tons, all

Expedition of Paul van Caerden as Admiral with a fleet of eight vessels.

equipped at Amsterdam; the *Walcheren*, of 700 tons, the *Terveen*, also of 700 tons, and the *Ziericzee*, of 500, all fitted out in Zealand; the *China*, of 420 tons,

the *Patane*, of 340 tons, the former having been equipped at Hoorn and the latter at Enchuisen. The crews numbered altogether 1,060 men; and the cost of the outfit amounted to 1,825,135 livres.

On the 17th June, the fleet met a Dutch cruiser, whose crew stated that 28 vessels had sailed from Lisbon in search of her, in the direction of the Azores, and that of these vessels six were galleons, or Spanish men-of-war. On the 1st January 1607, the Cape of Good Hope was passed, and on the 29th March the Portuguese fort of Mozambique was sighted. The fleet attacked the place and did some damage, but was unable to capture the fort, which fired some parting shots, when it at last sailed away again on the 16th June.† On the 30th of September, the coast of India was first sighted, and on the 17th October anchor was dropped at the mouth of the Goa river. As, however, several ships of war were lying near the fort, the Hollanders did not venture to approach or make any demonstration.

The description given of Goa and its people ‡ corroborates

* T. V. p. 804.

† T. VI. p. 335.

‡ T. VI. 362 seq.

those of Pyrard, and Pietro della Valle, who were there somewhat later, the three accounts agreeing in most respects, though, quite independent of each other. Nevertheless, it will, perhaps, not be altogether irrelevant to give in this place, an abridged sketch of Portuguese life in Goa, as it was nearly three centuries ago. The Dutch, being at enmity with the Portuguese, and unable to converse with them, considered them extremely haughty. They state that, from their strutting gait, the Portuguese might have been mistaken for princes, if it had not been known who they were ; that their overbearing manners were displayed not only among the nobility, but also among the lower classes, so that they became insupportable. This sweeping assertion is, of course, erroneous, as Mandelslo, with his English companions, was most affably received and treated with the greatest hospitality, during his stay of ten days at Goa.* Our Datch narrator states that nearly all the Portuguese had titles. Some were called *Fidalgos da casa del Rey nosso Senhor*, or gentlemen of the King's house ; others were *Mossos Fidalgos*, sons of gentlemen, or raised by the King to that dignity ; others again were qualified by the title of *Cavalleros Fidalgos*, as having distinguished themselves by some exploit in war, or by some service to the King. Some, however, obtained the title for money, when they took military service, if they were natives of Portugal, although they might have been of low extraction. There were also *Mossos da camara e do servizo*, gentlemen and servants of the chamber of the King, which title was held in the highest esteem, although the *Escuderos Fidalgos*, or equerries of the King ranked with them. There being no Royal Court at Goa, these titles smacked somewhat of the absurd. All others were called *Homes honrados*, honoured men, except common soldiers, who were of the lowest class.

The Portuguese lived in great style, keeping from ten to twenty slaves each. When they walked in the streets, a servant held an umbrella over their heads, while another carried the cloak, and a third the sword of his master. When they went to church, another servant carried a silk-cushion for them to kneel upon, and when gentlemen met one another, they made low and prolonged bows, and even kissed each other's hands. In mutual visits the etiquette in the houses was still more punctilious, and any neglect of it was resented by the offended party, even if it consisted in nothing more serious than offering the guest a lower, or worse chair, than that taken by the host.

The merchants of Goa usually traded with Bengal, Pegu,

* See *Calcutta Review*, 1882 July, No. CXLIX, Vol. LXXV, p. 67—105, Mandelslo and Thevenot, &c.

Malacca, China and other countries. They had a kind of bourse, or exchange, where goods were exposed daily for sale, as well as slaves, who were sold like cattle. Many of the inhabitants made a point of keeping thirty or forty of them on hand, whom they hired out, and whose wages constituted their income, just as was once the practice in the Southern States of the American Union, as witnessed by the writer at New Orleans and other places.

The fleet sailed from Bardez and from Goa on the 20th October, 1607, but cast anchor again the next day near the *Ilhas Quemadas*, or Burnt Islands. On the 31st, two frigates arrived from Goa, with an envoy, to treat about the ransom of a Portuguese Admiral whom the Dutch held a prisoner. As there was also a Dutchman captive in Goa, they demanded his release, but, the envoy stating that this could not be granted without the consent of the council of Malacca, he was allowed to depart. The fleet sailed back to Goa, and cast anchor in the river, on the 4th of November; but, finding that a number frigates and galleys which they desired to capture, had found shelter under the guns of the fort, they left again on the 5th, and cast anchor at Calicut on the 14th. The Zamorion not being in town, but in the country, near Pinanni, the fleet set sail for the latter place on the 15th of the same month, and cast anchor six or seven leagues from Calicut. People came on board the Admiral's vessel with the information that the Zamorin was not there, and the fleet consequently sailed four or five miles further to the southwards, where the army destined to operate against the Portuguese was encamped. On the 17th, two envoys of the Zamorin paid a visit to the Admiral, to whom they exhibited Letters Patent signed by Prince Maurice of Nassau, from which it appeared that some treaty had been concluded between him and the Zamorin. The Hollanders accordingly considered it necessary to remain a few days, to negotiate with this Prince and to offer him presents. Being, however, in want of water, they informed the interpreter that they could not stay long, whereupon he promised to provide them with what they required.

The fleet had been at anchor five or six days, waiting for rice, and the opportunity to take in water, when several Portuguese fustas were seen passing near the vessels and approaching the coast, which roused a suspicion in the mind of the Admiral that there must be some secret correspondence between the Zamorin and the Portuguese. This suspicion was increased when the Zamorin demanded the extradition and delivery into his hands of a Portuguese Captain and a carrack which the Dutch had captured. The Dutch refused to comply, but continued to send presents, in order to avoid offence;

they, however, neither obtained rice, nor were allowed any opportunity to take in water, and, finding that the Moors could not be trusted, they set sail on the 24th, after firing a parting salute. On the 8th December, the fleet anchored near Point de Galle, and on the 13th, it sailed for Bantam.

In 1607, thirteen vessels were sent out by the Dutch East India Company. Of these four large vessels and two yachts were equipped by the Chamber of Amsterdam, and one ship of 800 tons burden by the Chamber of Hoorn and Enchuisen, while

Expedition of the Admiral Peter Willemesz Verhoeven in 1607.

the Chamber of Delft furnished a ship of 1,000 tons, with a yacht of 200, and that of Zealand a ship of 600 tons, and a yacht of 200. Peter Willemesz

Verhoeven, of Amsterdam, was appointed Admiral, and Francis van Wittert Vice Admiral of this fleet, which sailed on the 22nd December from Texel.

On the 5th October 1608, it anchored near Montedelle, where the sloops which had been sent to take in water, found the inhabitants under arms. They were nevertheless allowed to draw water on payment of a small sum of money for each vessel, and also purchased provisions at cheap rates. The merchants brought opium to the Hollanders, as well as some wretched precious stones, such as rubies, agates and spinels, in return for which they wanted gold, silver, coral, and scarlet cloth, commodities with which the vessels were none too well provided.

In the evening of the 8th of October, the fleet cast anchor in the roadstead of Calicut, where it found the ship *Red Lion*. On the 9th, van Driel, who had been sent to the Zamorin, reported that that Prince had received him very well and hinted that a visit from the Admiral would greatly please him. Meanwhile one of the Zamorin's captains and two Arabs waited on the Admiral. This captain was quite naked, except for a piece of cloth wound several times round his waist and hanging down to his knees. His hair was long, and knotted on the top of the head; ornaments of gold, pearls, and precious stones hung down to his shoulders, and on his arm, above the elbow, he wore, a bracelet of gold, an inch thick. The captain, on behalf of the Zamorin, requested the Admiral to come on shore, with any kind of retinue he might deem proper, and the interpreters explained to him the customs of the country concerning the audience, so that he might meet with a good reception at the Court.

The presents to be offered to the Zamorin consisted of a piece of scarlet-cloth, a few packets of small corals, half a dozen large mirrors, two small cast-iron cannons, taken from a Portuguese ship, two beautiful muskets, a sabre

with a silver hilt, and 200 mats of a special manufacture. The captain further requested the Admiral, on embarking, to fire a salute with the whole artillery of the fleet in honour of the Zamorin, whereon the latter would despatch officers to receive him on shore. After the departure of the captain, arrangements were made that the Admiral should be accompanied by eight factors, 150 musketeers and 50 pikemen. On the 11th, in the morning, some councillors of the Zamorin made their appearance on shore to receive the Admiral, who disembarked under salvoes of artillery and to the sound of trumpets. About 1,000 men were awaiting him under arms, whilst the special envoys, who were on a raised square place, approached him with umbrellas, and conducted him to the palace.

The Hollanders found the Zamorin richly adorned with necklaces of fine diamonds and other precious stones. One of his courtiers supported his right arm, which was heavy with gold bracelets and precious stones; the fingers of both his hands being loaded with costly rings, as also the elongated lobes of his ears. On his body he wore nothing but a very fine white cloth wound about it. His forehead, shoulders, and breast were dyed yellow; his long hair was knotted on top of the head, and he was munching betel. By his side sat the young King, with his buckler, sword, and other arms in his hands, and around them were courtiers, holding gilded boxes containing betel.

The Admiral approached the Zamorin, and saluted him according to the Dutch fashion, and the Zamorin received him courteously, presenting him his hand to kiss. When the Admiral had also saluted the young King and the court, the Zamorin took his hand, and, placing it on his own, said:—"In the same manner as our fingers are now joined, so will be the people of Calicut and Holland." Then, looking towards the Dutch civilians and soldiers who were present, he continued:—"It is with pleasure that I now see the Hollanders and the people of Calicut united in friendship, and they seem to me henceforth as one nation." After some conversation, he took the Admiral to visit the palace, in the lower apartments of which a lunch of sweetmeats and fruits was served, the Zamorin presenting some to him with his own hands. Drink, too, was presented in silver bowls and cocoa-nut shells; what kind, is not mentioned. Then the presents which the sailors had brought, and the two pieces of cannon which arrived on an elephant, were made over and received with pleasure.

The Admiral wore a gold chain by which a medal of the same metal, bearing the head of Prince Maurice, was

suspended. After it had been handled and examined closely several times by the Zamorin, the Admiral presented it to him, and received in return a gold ring set with very fine diamonds. Van Driel and Fieff, two of the factors who had accompanied the Admiral, also received each a gold chain with a ring attached to it; while Obelaar and Groenewegen got a ruby each, and Hertsin a ring, encrusted with rubies and sapphires. The Zamorin also introduced the Admiral to his wife and children, and to his concubines, who were all adorned with bracelets, gold earrings and jewellery, and were guarded by eunuchs. After that the Hollanders retired, and were promised an audience of the council the next day.

The next morning, the interpreter came on board the Admiral's ship, and suggested that presents should be sent also to the Empress, the young King and the other children of the Emperor [Zamorin]. Accordingly pieces of scarlet-cloth, mats, sabres, and a small pistol were got ready for the purpose and taken to the palace, on which occasion also John Simonsz Hoen received a gold ring. The Admiral, with three or four officers, was then conducted to the Council Chamber, where they found the six councillors seated in a circle, like so many tailors. When the Hollanders had squatted down in the same fashion, the interpreter addressed them in a low voice, as if he feared to be heard. He told them that the King of Cochin, who had made an alliance with the Portuguese, had several times solicited the Zamorin to do so likewise; but, as this monarch had met only with dissimulation and faithlessness at their hands, he had refused to comply, and preferred to make friends with their enemies the Hollanders, whose ally he had been for four years, as would appear from the treaty concluded with Admiral Verhagen, and from two letters of Prince Maurice which could be produced. In spite, however, of the promises made to him by the Hollanders, they had sent him neither men nor ships to fight the Portuguese, whereat he was much astonished, but he hoped that at least the fleet now present in his harbour would render him the service he required. He accordingly requested that two ships might be employed in cruising near Goa, two near Calicut, and two near Cochin, he being ready to aid them with as many frigates and men as might be needed to prevent the Portuguese from defying him any longer, and enable him in time to chase them from his coasts.

To these proposals the Admiral replied that the States General, Prince Maurice, and his masters, the Directors of the Company, had greatly recommended the interests of the Zamorin to him, and instructed him to aid him against the Portuguese as far as possible, since all Hollanders must respect

him for his virtues, and be grateful for the friendship he had shown them. At the same time the Zamorin knew in what state the affairs of the Moluccas were, and that the most pressing necessity was to provide for them. If they were not put in order, all that could be done for the Zamorin would be useless, since, as long as the Portuguese remained masters of the South, no hope could be entertained of reducing their power. The Admiral therefore begged the Zamorin to accept his excuses once more, and allow him to sail with his fleet to the Moluccas, with the promise that, if affairs there should be placed on a good footing, he would not fail, on his return, to do everything he could for his service. If, however, the Zamorin liked, matters could be so arranged as to send two vessels from Bantam to Calicut, to complete their cargo of pepper and indigo, and, while this was being collected, they might render any services demanded from them. He also requested permission to send one or more factors with money to make purchases of goods in various localities, and the grant of a lodging where they might be safely stored.

It was admitted, at the same time, that the complaint of the Zamorin was not without foundation, as he had a treaty by which the Hollanders were bound to aid him.

The council of the Zamorin replied, that the Hollanders could not make much profit in the kingdom of Calicut till they had lent their aid to free the coast from Portuguese vessels, inasmuch as the Moors who came from the Red Sea, from Persia and from Cambay, were not allowed to sail to Calicut, but compelled to sell their goods at Goa and at Cochin; so that, in order to revive the trade of Calicut, it would be necessary to close at least the port of Cochin. They concluded by adding that they would make their report to the Zamorin, and communicate his reply.

Meanwhile, however, they demanded the ratification of the treaty made with Admiral van der Hagen, and the drawing up of a new document of alliance, declaring the Portuguese and the King of Cochin to be the common enemies of the two nations, and promising the Zamorin the aid of the Hollanders. The Admiral having consented to this, the President of the council stretched out his hand, desiring him to place his own upon it, whereon another councillor did the same thing, and another Hollander reciprocated, and the ceremony was repeated with two other councillors and as many Hollanders; this being their form of solemn oath. The councillors then demanded that the agreement should be written down in Flemish and in their own language, after which they departed to make their report to the Zamorin.

On their return, the councillors said that, on their making their report to the Zamorin, he had resolved to assemble his general council the next day in order to take its advice. The Hollander were told that they might return on board, but were requested to present themselves at the court the next morning to take leave. On the 14th of October the Hollander learnt that Martin van Domburgh was cruelly detained in prison at Cochin, and they sent to the Zamorin the Portuguese prisoners captured from the ship *Bom Jesus*, which they had taken before their arrival, and requested him to exchange them for Domburgh, which he promised to do.

When the Admiral returned to the court on the 15th, and was introduced, with the same factors, to the Privy Council, he was informed that the Zamorin understood very well the importance of the affairs of the Moluccas, and, having no objection to their arrangement, which he hoped would turn out successful, would be satisfied for the present with the vessels and factors who might be sent to him from Bantam.

When taking leave, the Zamorin took the Admiral aside, and told him how to behave in the East Indies, and "*above all to be on his guard against all frauds, to venture but seldom on shore, and by no means to trust those who made fine speeches.*" On the 16th a factor delivered the treaty, signed and sealed, with some more presents to the Zamorin, who, in his turn, sent the duplicate treaty, written by him on a palm-leaf.

The goods which the Hollander brought from their country in those times for sale at Calicut and along the whole coast of Malabar, consisted of tin and silver-work, round and branched coral, ivory pencils, scarlet cloth, fine crimson and also coarse broadcloth, mats and saffron, in exchange for which they obtained pepper, indigo, very fine cotton-cloth, which was rather cheap there, rubies, sapphires, spinels, garnets, topazes, cats' eyes and rock-crystal.

On the 16th of October, the Admiral set sail, and on the 5th November he sighted the coast of Sumatra.

The ship *Nassau* was one of the fleet commanded by General Reynst, with whom Peter Van den Broeck embarked, as first factor, with a voice in the ship's council. The ship sailed from Texel on the 2nd June 1613;* and on

Voyages of Peter van den Broeck, as first factor of the ship *Nassau*.

the 26th August 1614, cast anchor half a league from Aden. The sub-factor, who was sent on shore in a boat with a white flag, to inform the

Governor of the arrival of the Hollander, was very kindly received by the Turks, who promptly sent him back with

* T. VII, p. 463 seq.

some fish and fat sheep, as a token of welcome. The next day the ship anchored under the fort in seven fathoms of water.

The Captain who was sent by the Governor to inspect the ship, brought from him an invitation to Van den Broeck to dinner, which he accepted, as he wished to obtain permission to trade. After the Governor, whose name was Hassan Aga, had received the presents intended for him, he asked to what nation the strangers belonged, and, on being told that they were Hollanders, subjects of the States General and of the Prince of Orange, and had come to traffic as friends, as their countrymen did in all the possessions of the Sublime Porte, he replied that full liberty to trade would be granted them, but that it would first be necessary to inform the Viceroy of Yemen. Meanwhile he assigned a commodious house to the Hollanders. After dinner, Van den Broeck returned on board to unload cloth and mercerizes of Nuremberg, which he sent on shore in charge of a sub-factor. The next and last port (worth noticing in this place) of Southern Arabia, that was visited, was Shihr. There Van den Broeck was conducted by a number of soldiers and Arab merchants, to the King's house, where a grand repast was served, and he asked for permission to trade, which being granted, he left two men to study the language of the country till his return from Bantam. A good house was obtained, in which an assistant was left, with two men, provided with money and a small quantity of Nuremberg mercerizes.

After leaving the coast of Southern Arabia, the *Nassau* sailed to Java, where Van den Broeck received orders to embark on the *Old Zealand* and sail to the Moluccas with Admiral Verhagen. On the 1st June 1615, he arrived in the island of Ternate, whence he sailed to Bantam. There the President, Coen, by order of General Reynst, caused Van den Broeck to embark again in the ship *Nassau* and proceed as President to the coasts of the Red Sea.

Shihr was again reached on the 11th January 1616, when the two Hollanders, left there on the former occasion, came to meet them. One of them having been relieved by a substitute, the ship sailed for Mokha, where it cast anchor on the 5th of the same month, to the great amazement of the inhabitants, who had never seen a European vessel, though thirty others, small and large, belonging to Indians, Persians and Arabs, were in the port. The Governor sent some Turks on board to make enquiries, and on the 27th, Van den Broeck went on shore and was conducted to the Governor's palace to the sound of flutes and drums. After the customary questions, the Governor presented Van den Broeck with a jacket of gold brocade. Having had several interviews with the Hollanders, and feasted

them well, he assigned them a commodious house, prepared specially for them, for which they were to pay a rent of 140 Spanish dollars for the season of six months. Van den Broeck then made arrangements for the payment of the duties levied by the Government of the Viceroy of Yemen, and agreed to pay 3½ per cent. export and import duty for goods. Accordingly goods were landed the next day, and sold extremely well, being paid for in Spanish dollars and gold ducats.

On the 6th March 1616, a caravan of about 1,000 camels from Aleppo and Suez, arrived at Mokka, bringing about 200,000 Spanish dollars, with 100,000 ducats, partly Hungarian and partly Venetian, besides other money not declared at the custom-house. It brought also velvet, satin, damask, armoisin, Turkish stuffs, camlets, cloth, saffron, quicksilver, vermillion and Nuremberg mercerries. These caravans usually made the journey in two months, their goods being Arab, Indian, and Persian manufactures, which were bartered for coarse and fine cotton-cloth, indigo, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, mace, and China goods. On the same day Van den Broeck also obtained permission from the Governor to hoist the flag of the Prince of Orange on his house in the town of Mokha, whereat the foreign merchants grumbled considerably. The heat was so great that it could only be supported by frequently sprinkling the body with water.

As Van den Broeck wished to visit the interior as far as Sanaa, the capital, the Pasha of Yemen, on the 21st of April, provided him with a passport to all the officials under his jurisdiction, with orders to treat him respectfully. Accordingly he started on horseback with the sub-factor, John Arentz, and a trumpeter. The distance from Mokha to Sanaa, 55 leagues, was traversed in eight days; and, on their nearing the town, the Pasha himself, accompanied by more than 200 horsemen, was seen approaching. No interview, however, took place; the Pasha contenting himself with sending two good looking boys dressed like women, to tell the Hollanders to follow him quietly to his palace, where he would wait for them. On their arriving in the town, the multitude of people was so great, that it would have been impossible to pass, had not the Secretary and the two abovementioned pages on horseback gone in front of the foreigners to keep off the crowd.

When Van den Broeck reached the palace, two grooms took hold of the bridle of his horse and led it to a hall, with carpets spread, upon which he alighted, and walked towards the Pasha, between two lines of soldiers. When Van den Broeck had made his salutation, the Pasha made him sit down, whereon the interpreter said:—"May it please

your lordship, the captain must not sit in this manner," and he had a handsome chair brought for him. Then the Pasha asked him, with an air of severity, for what purpose he had come, and, being answered, placed his hand on Van den Broeck's head, saying:—"Be welcome." Then he told Van den Broeck to go and rest himself; but, to mark his satisfaction with the visit, he caused his Secretary to give him a coat of gold-brocade. Van den Broeck thereupon mounted his horse and was taken to the house of the majordomo, where a dinner was given him, and afterwards to the lodging prepared for him, where he found a goodly store of provisions, such as sheep, chickens, wine and everything necessary.

After making presents to the Pasha, and to others to whom it was necessary to give them, Van den Broeck was invited to a banquet in the garden of the Secretary, where he found a large company and a grand repast. In the garden were various fruit trees, including almond, peach, orange and lemon trees, as well as vines, all in flourishing condition. There were also rose-bushes of various kinds, elegant alcoves, and fountains, and the building was very pleasant. Whilst the guests were at table, a leopard of enormous size made its appearance, as tame as a dog, and picked up what fell under the table, without harming any one.

The Pasha lived in a castle, where he detained more than a 1,000 persons, men, women, and children, as hostages, all of them being the brothers, sisters, or children of notables in certain provinces, which he kept in subjection by this means. The place also contained various antiquities, and among them a large edifice, said to have been built by Noah, in which the wives of the Pasha were guarded by eunuchs, besides several beautiful mosques, in one of which were more than a hundred columns, each a monolith.

When Van den Broeck was preparing to depart, he requested permission to leave a factor at Mokha, which the Pasha refused, alleging that it could not be given without the order of the Sultan of Constantinople, the more so as the Muhammedan doctors apprehended that the Hollanders wished to extend their trade as far as the Sanctuary of Mekha, representing that they had first gone to Shihr, then to Aden, Mokha, and even Hodeidah, whence their yacht was preparing to advance further into the Red Sea, although no Christians were allowed to go there. Thus Van den Broeck, owing to the action of the people of the yacht, who had acted without his orders, could obtain nothing more than a confirmation of the treaty by which the Hollanders were to pay only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

export and import duties, whereas merchants from India and Persia paid 15 and 16 per cent.

Van den Broeck departed from Sanaa on the 16th May 1616, and reached Mokha again on the 24th. There he found the native and foreign merchants equally jealous of the agreement which he had made concerning the duties, and they presented a request on the subject, being indignant that infidels should enjoy immunities which they themselves were denied; but it was rejected, the Pasha telling them plainly that such was his pleasure.

When Van den Broeck was at Mokha, the Turkish garrison consisted of not more than 300 men, and the bulk of the population were Arabs. There were, however, also many very cunning Jews, Indians, Persians and Armenians, and the number of Banians amounted to 3,000, who were merchants, goldsmiths, bankers, and artizans. The vessels in the harbour were one from Surat; one from Gogo; five from Diu; two from Touweh; two from Dabul; one from Goa; two from Calicut; three from Cananore; one from Acheen; one from Masulipatam; 16 from Negena, Promiens and Cadts; one from Mozambique; two from Melinde; three or four from Ethiopia, all laden with goods, which were afterwards carried away by caravans, or by the great ship of the Turkish Government which came annually from Suez, either to that town, or to Jeddah, Mokha and Cairo. These same vessels also brought multitudes of pilgrims who were bound for Mekka. They usually arrived at Mokha in the middle of March or the end of April, and departed at the time of the monsoon which begins in August, with good cargoes of European wares, and much ready money. The Turkish Government vessel, mentioned above, brought more than 350,000 Spanish dollars and 50,000 Venetian or Moorish ducats, a quantity of broadcloth, and other stuffs, of wool and silk, tin, quicksilver, vermillion, saffron, Nuremberg mercerries, Russian leather, Fouwa for dying scarlet, and coffee, which at that time had not yet received a European name, and had been seen for the first time by the Hollanders at Mokha, and which Van den Broeck accordingly calls "*Kahauwa*, a kind of black berry which they put in boiling water, so that it also becomes black, whereon they drink it."

When Van den Broeck returned from Mokha to Shihr on the 16th July 1616, he closed the counting-house which he had established there, and withdrew his men, with the goods, whereat the King was much displeased, as well as many of his subjects. This prince offered Van den Broeck various advantageous conditions to induce him to leave some of his people there, but, having neither instructions from his superiors to that effect, nor sufficient funds, he excused himself and continued his voyage to India.

On the 2nd August 1616, the ship anchored in the river of Surat, and Van den Broeck went at once to the Governor, who received him well, and granted him liberty to trade. Thereon he asked for a house, in order to establish a factory as the English had done. This, however, the Governor could not venture to permit without the sanction of the Grand Moghul, his master. The journey to Agra, where this monarch held his court, occupying two months, and the season for it being nearly over, Van den Broeck was unwilling to undertake it; but "meanwhile," he says, "the English made every effort, sparing neither presents nor promises, to get us sent away," and continues:—"I had detected this intrigue, and, being with the Governor, who had sent for us, told him that I was prepared to retire, and to return on board immediately, whereat the merchants were a little astonished, and, fearing that I might attack the ship which I had seen at Mokha, and the arrival of which they were daily expecting, they went to the Governor, and requested him to call me back, and to grant me, this once, the same favour which he had granted to the English. I returned to the shore, and he allowed me to rent a house till the time of my return, for which he would endeavour to obtain the consent of the Emperor."

He accordingly rented a house, and left in it a factor with three other men and goods. The Governor shook hands with him, assuring him that he would guard these men as the apple of his eye. He also made Van den Broeck a present of nine small pieces of cloth, a change of behaviour which surprised the English and the natives equally.

Soon after the Hollanders had sailed from Surat, and arrived opposite to Bassein, which was in the possession of the Portuguese, they sighted an entirely new frigate, which they captured and took to Bantam for the service of the Company. On the 10th of October 1616, they cast anchor in the roadstead of Calicut, where two Englishmen came on board, who had been left there by their countrymen to trade in the guise of Hollanders. The next day, Van den Broeck landed, with the view of speaking to the Zamorin. He happened, however, to be absent from town, and Van den Broeck accordingly explained the object of his visit to the Prince, his son, who told him that they had been deceived by the English, who had come there as Hollanders, and that nothing could be done without the Secretary, who was with the Zamorin. He requested Van den Broeck to weigh anchor and seek his father on the coast, for which purpose three or four gentlemen would accompany him; but, the weather being too rough, this could not be done.

The next day, the Prince feasted the Hollanders and

accompanied them back to the shore with his escort. There a message arrived from the Empress [the wife of the Zamorin], requesting Van den Broeck to pay her a visit. After receiving him in a gratifying manner, she requested that arrangements might be made to carry out the treaty concluded with Admiral P. Willemesz. She also presented Van den Broeck with a ring set with two fine rubies, and stipulated that the Hollanders should return the next year. When Van den Broeck embarked, the prince fired a salute of seven guns, and sent him three pirogues full of provisions.

On the 18th November 1616, the ship cast anchor at Bantam, where the president informed Van den Broeck of the death of General Reinst. On the 7th January 1617, the President ordered him to take command of the ship *Middelburg* and the yacht *Pigeon*, and sail to the islands of Maurice and Madagascar, to the coasts of the Red Sea, and as far as Surat, and annoy the Portuguese wherever he could.

On the 8th, Van den Broeck sailed with the two vessels, and on the 9th April 1617, cast anchor in the roadstead of the island of Maurice. On the 23rd May, he left again for Madagascar to purchase rice and slaves. Reaching the coast on the 4th of July, he sailed along it till he discovered a beautiful bay ; but, the wind being strong, the pilots did not venture to enter it. The gale increasing, and the currents becoming so strong that it was impossible to approach Madagascar, he resolved to make for the island of Pemba, near Zanzibar, which he sighted, but could not approach. Here the Hollanders lost the big sloop which the ship had been towing, and the ship got separated from the yacht. The rudder, moreover, broke, and the ship made so much water, that they had to keep the pumps constantly going. At length they reached the roadstead of Monte Felix, in the Red Sea, short of provisions and in a dismantled state. Here things were put in order, as far as possible, and Van den Broeck went on shore in search of provisions for his sailors, most of whom were ill and exhausted with the labour of pumping. He failed, however, to obtain provisions, and it was resolved to steer for Socotra ; but eventually they made for Surat. The same gale continued, and, on casting the lead, on the 16th of September, bottom was found at a depth of 50 fathoms. Sea snakes were also observed, which the pilots took to be a good sign. On the 18th, anchor was cast off Daman, a town belonging to the Portuguese. The next morning, at low tide, the water was found not to be deeper than four and a half fathoms ; the rudder again broke, and after the mainmast had been cut, the ship drifted till she ran ashore, and two sailors were despatched across the breakers, which were terrible, to ascertain what locality they were in.

Gradually the tide receded so much that, at dusk, Van den Broeck walked on foot to the shore to superintend the erection of a barricade, as both the town of Daman and the frontiers of the Grand Moghul were near. The next day the Hollanders learned that their yacht, the *Pigeon*, from which they had been separated, had likewise stranded, a day before them, at a distance of one league from the ship. Both the crews now joined in entrenching themselves with large barrels of cloves and other spices, so as to protect their other goods, which were to be transported to their dépôt at Surat. As soon as the barricade was finished, they burnt the ship, in order to collect its iron, and marched to Gandevee, where their own people lodged them in a good house. Van den Broeck, however, hastened alone to Surat, to inform the factor, Petre Jelisz, of the shipwreck, and arrange for the safety of the goods that had been left in the barricade. On the 30th September 1617, seven English vessels cast anchor at Surat, and Van den Broeck requested them either to take his people to Bantam, in Java, or to sell him a Portuguese vessel which they had captured. They, however, refused with great harshness, as he says, but probably because he would not agree to their terms ; to avoid which, he resolved to march with his people by land to Masulipatam.

After leaving the necessary orders at the dépôt at Surat, the travellers, who consisted of 103 Hollanders and 29 natives,

Crossing India from Surat to Masulipatam. started on their journey, the details of which it would be difficult to follow, owing to the mangled state of the

orthography of the localities through which they passed. Being well-armed and partly mounted, the Hollanders defended themselves when occasion required, and generally came off victorious ; but when they encountered bodies of Muhammadan troops, Van den Broeck usually produced the passport from the Governor of Surat, and made presents of swords or other articles to the officer in command. In this way the Hollanders traversed a part of Khandesh and the Nizam's dominions, and reached Daulatabad, easily recognized in *Dolatabat*, which is spoken of as the capital of the kingdom of the Dekkan. This being a fort, the Hollanders were not allowed to enter it, but they saw three guns of extraordinary size near the ramparts of the town, which was walled. Van den Broeck paid a visit to the General, whom he calls Melic Ambaar, a Habhs [Abyssinian], from the country of Prête-Jan [Prester John]. He is described as black, tall, of severe aspect, but beloved and revered. He offered a seat to Van den Broeck, who presented him with a Japanese sword and poniard, and obtained, in return, a coat of gold-brocade, as well as a passport

for some of the Hollanders who had fallen ill, and who were to follow the company later on. During the same visit, this General invited Van den Broeck to enter his service on a salary of 100 pagodas per month and the revenues of a village.

The Hollanders did not enter Aurangabad, but passed on to the Godaverry, which is not named by our traveller, but merely called a branch of the Ganges, and which was so shallow that it was crossed on horseback. At Gandaar, spelt in our maps Kundahar, some distance from the river, they found the frontier of the kingdom of Golconda guarded by Manssor Gaan [Mançúr Khán], a renegade Portugese, with 6,000 horse. Eventually the Hollanders reached the fort of Golconda, which they were not allowed to enter. On approaching the city of Haidrabad, they pitched their camp at a distance of half a koss from it. Here Van den Broeck first sent the sub-factor to the Governor of Masulipatam, who happened to be at the Court of Haidrabad, to inform him of the arrival of the Hollanders, and next day he himself paid the Governor a visit, and they parted very good friends. Van den Broeck was consequently not a little astonished when the Hollanders were suddenly stopped on the march. Ultimately he was informed that so many people could not be allowed to go to Masulipatam, but they must take the route to Pettepoli and thence to Pulicat; and, considering what country the Hollanders were in, they offered no objections, but obeyed, or rather pretended to do so.

After a march of five days, they arrived at a village situated on a river which it was necessary to cross to go to Pettepoli, and a letter from Haas van Haas arrived, inviting them to come to that place. They, nevertheless, resolved to proceed to Masulipatam, which Van den Broeck was the first to reach. There he was joined by his troop, on the 24th December, after a march of seven weeks and three days from Surat. The next day news arrived that the sick men who had been left behind, had been arrested at a village called Normot. Accordingly Van den Broeck started at once for the place, where he found his men in arms and fighting with the inhabitants. Seeing that they were likely to get the worst of it, and fearing to injure the trade of the Company by brawls with these people, he requested them to allow the Hollanders to continue their march, but in vain. Mr. Van Haas, who enjoyed the rank of Governor on behalf of the Company, also made his appearance on the spot; but they refused to listen even to him, so that they were obliged to retrace their steps to Badora and thence to go to Pettepoli. Van den Broeck, nevertheless, succeeded in sending six sick men with the baggage to Masulipatam. During their retreat, nobody would sell any victuals to the Hollanders, and Van den Broeck rode all night to see whether

any aid could be looked for from the dépôt at Pettepoli, to which place a Persian merchant, Mirkamal-ud-din by name, was kind enough to accompany him. They were unable, however, to enter it and returned to Montepoli, not without much danger, which would have been still greater had not the merchant already named stood security for the Hollanders, who, not being able to procure shelter there either, and not finding the yacht promised by Van Haas, were obliged to spend the night in the open. The next morning, the yacht arrived, but without a boat, and, the natives refusing to let the Hollanders hire one, they had to swim to the yacht through the breakers, with their arms on their shoulders. As soon as they were on board, they weighed anchor and sailed for to Pulicat, whence Van den Broeck marched with 63 men to the fort of Gueldres.

On the 28th January 1618, Van Haas sent the ship *Der Goes*, with three frigates and one sanguesselle, to cruise against the Portuguese along the coast, and Van den Broeck embarked with him on board the first-named ship, to go as far as Tirpopelliar, where the Company had a dépôt. Having arrived off St. Thomas, the frigates approached the town as near as possible and anchored, but retired beyond range after two shots had been fired at them. During the night Van Haas called the officers of the frigates on board, and Van den Broeck landed with him at Tirpopelliar the next morning, at day-break, to visit the dépôt. Whilst there, they made an excursion to Polosera and to the fort of Bardanwa, where they were well received. In the latter place they saw a very pretty Hindu woman, of about 20 years of age, who was preparing to burn herself the next day with the body of her deceased husband, and manifested the greatest firmness in her resolution. When the Hollanders endeavoured to dissuade her, she mocked them, telling them that she must follow her husband to the next world, or be exposed in this to the scorn of her relatives and of all men, not one of whom would marry her. She requested them, however, to intercede, after her death, with the Naik for the support of her children. They offered, if she changed her resolution, to take her to another country, where nobody would know what had happened ; but she refused steadfastly. When she was about to be burnt, she put on her best clothes and jewels, moistened her eyes with lemon-juice, and leapt into the fire, uttering only the words, "*Ram Ram.*" The priests around her then made such a noise with drums that it would have been impossible to hear anything. The pile was composed of wood, with several basins of oil, and in the centre there was a hollow into which she leapt. The people

around heaped fire brands on the pile, and howled and beat drums.*

After cruising a long time without taking any Portuguese vessels, the two Hollanders returned to Pulicat, where they witnessed the arrival of a factor, named Gysbertvan Suylen, who was ill, and had come from Ceylon in a catamaran—a wretched little vessel consisting of two logs of wood tied together. He complained bitterly of the King of Candy, who would not observe the clauses of the treaty. Van den Broeck now embarked on board the *Golden Lion* for Masulipatam, leaving Adolphe Thomasz, as first factor in the fort of Gueldres, which was garrisoned by 130 Hollandish soldiers and mounted with 30 guns. Van den Broeck arrived at the end of March 1618 at Masulipatam, where the Governor received him courteously, presented him with a jacket of good brocade, and had him conducted with a procession of public dancing women to the lodging of the Hollanders. The goods they had brought were sold for ready cash, which some persons even paid before the goods could be delivered, for fear of not obtaining them.

Thence Van den Broeck sailed with Samuel Kint, who had been Sub-Governor of Pulicat on the Coromandel Coast, to Bantam. They, however, first spent some time at Acheen, where the pepper trade was considerable; and, after having completed their transactions, continued their journey through

the Straits of Malacca to Jaccatra,
Voyage to Bantam, return to where they landed on the 7th Nov-
India, and conclusion.ember 1618, and learnt, to their

great surprise, that General Coen was at war with the king of Bantam, who had made great preparations. On the 11th December 1618, Van den Broeck embarked on board *The Angel* to return to Surat, but learnt near Cape Pontam, in Java, which was held by a Hollander, that the English had taken possession of one of their ships, called the *Black Lion*, on its way from Patan. He accordingly returned with this piece of news to Jaccatra, and put the depot there in a state of defence.

On the 4th January 1620, Van den Broeck had renewed his engagement in the service of the Company for three years, and, a fleet having been despatched to the Straits of Sunda to intercept three English ships which were expected from Europe, he was on the point of joining it, in order to obtain a share in the booty. But, seeing the English ship *Bull* at the entrance of the Straits, he immediately

* Van den Broeck had often been invited by the natives to witness spectacles of this kind, two more of which he describes, but he was so horrified that he wished to see no more.

approached it with the *Old Sun*, in which he sailed, and with a galliot, and demanded its surrender. The English, however, replied that peace had been concluded between them and the Dutch Company, and, producing letters to that effect, stating that a yacht of the Company was also bringing the same news. Accordingly these vessels sailed together to Batavia, where they arrived, to the great surprise of General Coen, and anchored on the 20th March 1620.

On the 13th April, the General sent the English ship *Bull* and the Hollandish yacht *Chef* to carry the news of the peace to the fleet, ordering Van den Broeck to accompany them as far as the Straits of Sunda, and not to allow any English vessel to come to Bantam, unless accompanied by some Hollander. The vessels sailed on the 15th, and about midnight they met the English fleet, consisting of eleven vessels; but it was not considered expedient to approach them in the night, as they had not yet heard of the peace. In the morning, they were joined by the *Bull* and the Dutch yacht; but, as the fleet did not hoist the white flag, Van den Broeck took his course towards Bantam to apprise the General of their arrival. Seeing that he was retiring, the English made all sail after him, but were obliged to cast anchor at Pulo Panian before they could overtake him. He thereupon fired five guns and the Admiral replied with nine, on which he sent his first factor on board to inform the Admiral of the treaty.

The next day General Coen arrived with 13 vessels, so that the fleet now amounted to 17 vessels, besides the ships which had been left at Batavia, and that of the English to 12. The two fleets exchanged salutes and anchored together in the roadstead of Bantam, after the English had sent three factors on board the Dutch General's vessel to congratulate him. People were sent on shore two or three times to speak to the Pangoram, but he would grant them no audience. Thereupon their General resolved to retire to Batavia and to take with him the greater portion of the fleet.

The treaty of peace between the English and the Dutch Company having been published on the 9th June 1620, rejoicings took place on that day in the fort and in the vessels. A few days afterwards, Van den Broeck received his "commission," as Chief and Director of the factories of Arabia, Persia and India, as well as commander of the ship *The Arms of Zealand*, to the Red Sea, and, sailing on the 26th June, arrived at Aden on the 22nd August. The men sent on shore with the interpreter having been very well received by the Aga, Van den Broeck himself also paid him a visit, and was at once promised a house. Then he assembled his council, and explained to them that the monsoon for going to Surat was

about to terminate, and that, according to all appearances, the time consumed in sailing to Mokha would cut short the opportunity of going to Surat. Accordingly, it was resolved to send the factor, Herman van Gil, on shore, with some goods, that he might embark them in Arab vessels on the first opportunity and take them to Mokha, and that Van den Broeck should at once sail to Surat to take up his appointment of Director. Thereon van Gil, a sub-factor, two assistants and two sailors, were left on shore with the necessary funds, after having been duly recommended to the Governor, and the ship sailed again on the 20th August 1620.

Van den Broeck touched at the island of Socotra, where the best aloes in the world were to be had, and where the sub-factor, John van den Dussen had been very well received on a former occasion, because he had brought with him the shipwrecked crew of a vessel which had belonged to the King. Provisions and a quantity of aloes and other goods were procured by barter; but the people would not allow any Hollanders to enter the town; and, the weather being very stormy, the ship continued its voyage to Surat, and cast anchor at the mouth of the river on the 1st October 1620. A pilot was sent for to take the vessel up the river, and on the 4th Van den Broeck went on shore, where he was well received by the Governor and the inhabitants. After taking up his appointment, he went to Broach, Cambay and Ahmedabad, inspecting the depots previously established there, and meeting everywhere with the greatest kindness at the hands of the gentry of those places, who took him on hunting expeditions for antelopes and hares, the former being chased by means of tame leopards and the latter by dogs. On the 20th November 1620, he sent back the ship *The Arms of Zealand* to Batavia; then he appointed the factor Wouter Heute to be chief of commerce at the Court of the Moghul at Agra, where he sent him to reside. On the 7th February 1621, a frigate just built at Gandevee, and named the *Good Luck*, cast anchor in the roadstead of Surat, and, after exciting the jealousy of the English and of the Moslems to a considerable degree, was, on the 7th April, despatched with a small cargo to Batavia.

On the 1st of October, six ships from England cast anchor at Surat; and on the 20th they were followed by the Dutch vessel *Samson*, from Mokha, where it had left the yacht *Weesp*. Considering that the Hollanders pretended to be only peaceable traders, enjoying the protection of the Moghul Government, it is astonishing how many acts of piracy they committed on the high seas. As the *Samson* particularly distinguished itself by making prizes of vessels of Indian nationalities with whom the Hollanders,

were on the friendliest footing on shore, it may be worth while to give some account of its piratical exploits. The first vessel taken, robbed, and sunk, in spite of a Dutch passport, belonged to Cadts [Cuch], a place under the Moghul Government. Two more vessels from Calicut, in the possessions of the Zamorin, were taken, with 2,000 ducats and several women ; and a fourth, which was coming from Helick on the coast of Ethiopia, was likewise sunk, after being plundered of its cargo, consisting of gold bars and ivory, with other goods of less consequence. Lastly, two richly laden ships from Dabul were taken, after they had landed a portion of their crews—probably pilgrims—on the coast of Arabia.

These hostilities naturally exasperated the Moghul Government, and exposed the capital of the Hollanders, amounting to more than six tons of gold in their Indian depots, to the greatest danger. Van den Broeck, however, was adroit enough to overcome all troubles, probably by a device which never fails in the East, namely, large bribes. This he does not state, but merely mentions that he was successful, in spite of the English, who were bent on ruining the Hollanders, and had, on this occasion, represented at the Court that their assertions had been fully verified, and that experience had proved whether the Hollanders were really merchants, or thieves and pirates.

On the 10th February, Van den Broeck despatched the *Samson* to Batavia, with a valuable cargo destined for the south, and for Europe. He then made a tour on horseback, with a number of his people, to visit and establish dépôts for the Company at Broach, Baroda, Sirsha, Ahmedabad and Cambay. Proceeding first to Broach, he found that the English had been purchasing cotton cloth there for a long time. Then he went to Baroda, and to Ahmedabad, where he established a depot. He next visited Sirsha, a small town where indigo was manufactured, and Cambay, a port formerly much frequented by the Portuguese, whose commerce there had, however, been annihilated.

The trip lasted twenty-five days, and, when Van den Broeck arrived in Surat, he found that a Dutch caravan from Agra, consisting of 300 loaded camels, had reached the town on the same day. The goods were immediately despatched to Batavia. On the 29th April 1622, one of the ships of the Grand Moghul, named the *Tokoli*, arrived from Mokha and cast anchor at Surat ; it brought 250,000 rupees, mostly consigned to the merchants of Ahmedabad, Cambay, Surat and other places.

On the 4th October 1622, Admiral Jaques Dedel, who, with

the aid of some English vessels, had taken and destroyed three large Portuguese carracks near Mozambique, cast anchor at Surat, but sailed afterwards to Goa. On the 4th December 1622, the yachts *Heusden* and *Weesp* arrived from Batavia, well laden ; and the latter, with the newly built frigate, *Mokha*, was sent to join the Dutch fleet before Goa, the *Heusden* being despatched with a valuable cargo to Batavia and to Holland.

On the 15th February 1623, a Dutch caravan arrived from Agra, after a march of 61 days, with 358 packages of indigo. During this year also arrived the first vessel which came direct from Holland to Surat ; its name was the *Sehoonhove*. The *Heusden* afterwards returned from Persia, where it had left a factor with funds for trading. The *Peace* and the *Weesp* also arrived from Batavia, with a large quantity of specie and goods. On the 19th September, *The Dordrecht*, which was the second vessel that had come straight from Holland to Surat, brought out a large cargo ; and on the 5th October, three ships arrived from Batavia with cargoes.

Although the Dutch and English traders were not always on good terms, their enmity suddenly turned to friendship whenever there was a chance of plundering Portuguese ships. Thus, when it became known that eight galleons of that nation were in the Persian Gulf, the two rival Companies forthwith made a treaty, each furnishing four ships, to which some others were subsequently added. This expedition, which sailed on the 18th November 1623, and returned on the 17th March 1624, was, however, disappointed in its hopes of booty, for, though it encountered the Portuguese galleons and chased them, it failed to capture any of them ; and moreover, Albert Becker, who commanded the Hollanders, was killed in the very beginning of the action by a cannon ball. These ships brought, however, from Persia, Mr. John van Hassel, with Moosa Begh, who were going as Ambassadors from the King of Persia to the States General, and to Prince Frederick Henry of Nassau.

A caravan which arrived from Agra, with 450 camels, brought also a curious one-horned antelope, as well as another tame one, by means of which the Hollanders caught several others during their journey to Broach.

On the 1st April 1626, Van den Broeck consented, under some pressure, to remain in the service of the Company. On the 4th November the new Governor of Surat, Mir Moosa by name, presented him, on his accession, with a horse, eighteen gold mohurs, and a cloak of broad cloth lined with velvet. On the 6th November, news arrived that the Grand Moghul had died, which produced such confusion in the place that the Governor sent the Hollanders six of his soldiers, with

a barrel of gunpowder, and warned them to be on their guard.

On the 14th, Van den Broeck went on board the *Dordrecht* to give orders for her departure to Holland. There he heard that Prince Khorrem was approaching with his army ; that some troops had already arrived at Surat, and that 10,000 rupees were demanded from the Hollanders. He returned promptly to the factory, and, leaving again the same night, went to meet the Prince with a present, and was the first of the inhabitants and strangers of Surat to arrive and salute him. The Prince made him a present of a fine horse, and offered to confer high rank on him if he would enter his service. He asked for a fresh passport, which was promised him ; and when he returned to Surat, it was delivered to him, as well as a horse, a gift from Mohâbet Khân, the General of the army, and the next day the castle of Surat was surrendered. On the same day also a Persian ambassador asked and obtained permission to embark in one of the Dutch ships which were just about to sail for Persia.

On the 9th May 1672, a Dutch vessel which had arrived from Shihr, brought a present to Van den Broeck, with a request from an Arab Chief to return to that country and trade. On the 8th October 1627, John Van Hassan arrived with his family from Europe, to relieve Van den Broeck of his post as he had to go to Persia.

On the 22nd, an Englishman, a gunner's mate, having been killed by a Dutch sailor, the English seized the criminal, and were about to execute him, but Van den Broeck sent them a message, that, if the man were convicted, justice would be administered as impartially under the flag of his sovereign as under that of their King ; and the prisoner was accordingly sent back. Van den Broeck wished justice to be done ; but, foreseeing that the English would not like the punishment to be capital, he condemned the man to be thrown into the sea alive. When the English saw that sentence had been pronounced and was about to be executed, they all came on board to intercede for the man, and he was pardoned.

On the 5th December 1628, Moosa Begh, the ambassador of Persia, who had returned from Holland, arrived by land from Masulipatam, and Van den Broeck took him on board to convey him to Persia. Van den Broeck sailed, in the capacity of Admiral, on the 23rd of the same month, with six Dutch and as many English vessels, on an understanding that they should jointly attack the Portuguese fleet, which consisted of nine galleons, in case it should be encountered ; but, after reaching Cape Jask, they ascertained that the galleons had passed five days before with 23 frigates. An English barque and a Dutch

yacht were sent to the shore to enquire about the affairs of Gomeron [Bandar Abassi], and they brought information that no vessels were in the roadstead, whereon the united fleets anchored in it on the 5th February 1629, to the consternation of the inhabitants, who had not recognized the flags. On the 7th, Van den Broeck landed, and was invited to dinner by the Commandant ; then he sailed with three vessels to Ormuz, to take in salt and red earth, and to procure wood. The Governor sent his compliments on board, and Van den Broeck paid him a visit, receiving a salute of nine guns, as well as a good dinner from the Governor, and a present of a beautiful horse. To the surprise of everybody, the Governor, the next day, honoured Van den Broeck with a visit on board, and afterwards the latter returned on shore to transact business and be entertained at a banquet at some distance from the town, in the gardens, to which the Governor had invited some of the gentry of the place. There a performance was given by public dancing girls who could ride as well as men, and at his departure, Van den Broeck again received a horse, with other gifts, as well as thanks for the entertainment he had a few days previously given the Governor on board. After embarking a thousand bales of silk, he again sailed for Surat on the 5th May 1629, and cast anchor there on the 22nd of the same month. Then he bade farewell, for the second time, to his friends, and sailed on the 20th April with a fleet and a valuable cargo to Batavia, where he arrived on the 19th June.

After that Van den Broeck did not return to India, but sailed for Holland, arriving in Amsterdam on the 8th July, 1630. He had been more than seventeen consecutive years in the service of the Company, which presented him, on his arrival, with a golden chain worth 1,200 livres. He gave an account of the affairs of the East Indies to the Prince, narrated his adventures to the gentlemen of the States General, and had the pleasure, of meeting, everywhere, with the warmest reception.

E. REHATSEK.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION.]

ART. VI.—REMARKS ON PROFESSOR DRUMMOND'S
SCIENTIFIC CHRISTIANITY.

THE other day I took up, a second time, a volume by Professor Drummond, called "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," and was surprised to find it in its 29th* Edition, completing 100,000 copies. A book of this character, which has commanded, in a comparatively short time, such an enormous demand, must have had a large influence upon the religious attitude of the time. The 100,000 copies that have been sold, probably represent not less than twenty times that number of readers : and twenty hundred thousand persons is an extraordinary proportion of the whole educated and enquiring body of the Christian Church. It can scarcely, therefore, be out of place to examine the general bearing of what the "Aberdeen Free Press" characterizes as Professor Drummond's "discovery" : to analyze his methods, and point his conclusions. The subject of religion, the spiritual destiny of man, has in all ages not wholly barbarous, engaged the profoundest attention, the choicest ability, the most indefatigable enquiry of all that was highest and best in contemporary intellect. Nor is it to be supposed that in the present generation, when the sceptics and agnostics, the scholars and the men of science have relinquished further efforts to reconcile dogmas with truth, religious systems with scientific discoveries, unreasoning belief with logical demonstration, that there is, on that account, a less lively longing in the breasts of thousands to meet and repel, with improved and adequate weapons, the assaults which they feel, uneasily, have gone far to undermine the fabrics of their childhood's faith.

It is this class, by far the largest section of modern Christians, who have hailed their new champion with transports of joy and triumph, and look upon his remarkable book as a complete and satisfactory answer to the difficulties which Science and Reason appear to have thrown in the path of Faith. These earnest, good souls, are but little in the habit of thinking for themselves. They have long wrung their hands, and impotently deplored the spirit of daring and impious criticism that overthrew their strongholds and exposed the tenuity of their beliefs : they were incapable for the most part of understanding the arguments of their adversaries, and wholly unfitted by

* The references throughout this article are from the XXIXth Edition.

their peculiar prepossessions for devising arguments that could be used with effect on the real battle ground. Constant appeals to the teachings of inspiration, where inspiration was denied, were their principal, if not their only, weapons: they assumed all the points chiefly disputed, and were amazed that reasoning so derived failed to convince their active opponents, or satisfy their wavering friends. To people so hard pressed, so conscious of a great change, the nature and tendency of which alike they could scarcely realize; panting to renew the combat, though desperately aware that it could result only in a more disastrous repulse; to them, in their hour of gloom and deep despondency, Professor Drummond was suddenly raised up, as a gifted and capable champion, trained in the use of the new weapons; willing and anxious to lead their battle in all the added power of the triumphant enemies' own equipment. Is it surprising that the whole body of earnest, uninstructed Christians rallied as one man round the Professor's banner? If the matter be considered in this light, no one, perhaps, ought to feel any astonishment that Professor Drummond has already found 2,000,000 readers, and will probably find as many more before many years have passed. But since it is so, it follows that the subject must possess a strong fascination for our countrymen and countrywomen; and it is in the belief that where so many have read the book, a moderate and popular criticism of its teaching can scarcely fail to be of general interest, that I propose to make a few remarks upon its more salient theoretical features, and the arguments which Professor Drummond has used. For there can, I fear, be little doubt that, of the millions who have read or may read the book, those who will do so at once with intelligence and total freedom from bias might compendiously be reckoned in tens: while the bulk of orthodox men and women who read with passionate avidity such a book as this, upon their side of the old dispute, are scarcely likely to possess either the capacity or the impartiality to detect possible blemishes. And yet parts of Mr. Drummond's creed, pushed to their logical conclusions, are likely to startle a great deal of complacent and ignorant orthodoxy.

It is to be premised that I am not by profession a theologian or a scientist. I read Professor Drummond's book with a keen and dispassionate interest; I frankly admired both his courage and his originality, his great erudition, and the admirable style in which he imparts it. In the present paper I aim at nothing further than offering to thoughtful men and women a brief statement of the difficulties that must, I imagine, occur to any independent and educated layman who reads this book with the object rather of enlarging his view of truth than of obtaining

support *ex cathedra* for a doctrine which he will not allow, under any conditions whatever, to be untrue. If, in fact, my difficulties are chimerical and my objections groundless, the cause of truth will be a gainer by their exposure : if, on the other hand, they serve in any degree to indicate blemishes and weak spots in a fine constructive effort, and to excite in even half a score of readers a spirit of rational and wise suspense, in place of an immediate surrender of personal judgment to high authority, this paper will not have been written in vain.

The whole of Professor Drummond's preface deserves careful attention. It is not only admirably written, but it throws an interesting and useful light upon the author's mental bias and the attitude in which his mind stood on the threshold of his work. It is, however, impossible, within the limits of reasonable space, and with so much before me, to dwell at length upon any portion of the preface. I shall merely invite attention to one or two passages in it. At p. xi. he says : " It might be charged, nevertheless, that I was all the time, " whether consciously or unconsciously, simply *reading my theology into my science.** And as this would hopelessly " vitiate the conclusions arrived at, I must acquit myself at " least of the intention."

We may all cheerfully concede that the Professor had no *intention* of permitting this vitiating bias to warp his conclusions, but whether, in the result, his work has not largely suffered from the very causes he endeavours to guard against, is a question which cannot be so lightly and satisfactorily answered. It is hardly possible to read the book without an uneasy consciousness that Professor Drummond *has*, in fact, allowed his legitimate scientific conclusions to be freely tinctured, at least in their practical application, by theological prepossessions.

For, on the very same page, and at a distance of only two sentences, there is this passage : " These I conceive may be " there actually studied at first hand, and before their purity " is soiled by human touch. We have truth in nature as it came " from God. And it has to be read with the same unbiased " mind, the same open eye, the same faith, and the same " reverence as all other Revelation."

Now bearing in mind that Mr. Drummond uses 'God' and 'Revelation' in the ordinary Christian sense, it may well be objected that here at once is evidence of a strong theological bias ; of a tendency to " read theology into science." This book appears, from its very terminology and the scheme of its composition, so far as its theory is concerned, to be addressed, partly

* The italics in all quotations are my own.

at any rate, to men of science and philosophers, to evolutionists, agnostics and sceptics. Unquestionably some of these persons would deny that what Mr. Drummond calls "truth in nature," *did* come from God, in the sense in which 'God' is used throughout this book, while it is perfectly clear that, in speaking of scientific discoveries as "Revelations," with a capital *R*, and distinctly alluding to their connexion with theological revelations, the author is very subtly insinuating an altogether false analogy. It is equally clear that his intentional or unintentional confounding of terms is due to Mr. Drummond's disposition to read theology into science. And it is an inaccuracy which can scarcely be accidental, since it is repeated more than once. It appears to me to be an inaccuracy and a disingenuous inaccuracy for this reason. In arguing with persons who deny the inspiration of Scripture, Professor Drummond must perceive that there is an appreciable difference between the truths of nature which lie at our doors for any man with ability and patience to discover, and those Scripture revelations which were *ex hypothesi* forced upon the notice of a few individual men without any co-operative exercise of intelligence on their parts. It has long been tacitly conceded that the day of direct Scripture revelations has passed away: but there is no reason to suppose that any talented person of our acquaintance may not at any time hit upon a latent natural truth. To treat of two things so distinct in essentials as though they were practically identical, is an error in reasoning which can be attributed, only to the influence of theological bias.

Mr. Drummond, after stating the basis of his theory to be "the common principle the continuity of law," proceeds to defend the intrusion of the principles of natural science into the field of spiritual thought, by an analogy drawn from the useful application of natural law to political economy and social science. He argues that, since success has attended both these experiments, it is reasonable to infer that success ought to attend any attempt to extend the natural laws into the spiritual world. The objection which I feel to this proposition is that in political economy and sociology enquirers have abundant data, recurring phenomena, and facts which may be said to be proved by generally accepted testimony, to guide their researches. But, apart from the verbal ambiguity surrounding the 'spiritual sphere,' it cannot be pretended, I think, that here are to be expected materials either uniform, universally accepted, or known to be recurring. Each man's imagination colored by emotion is the medium through which the human race receive their concepts of a spiritual sphere.

The chief objects of this criticism will be best attained by

an examination, in some detail, of those portions of Professor Drummond's work which are addressed to the development of his theories, in contradistinction to the chapters intended to inculcate practical maxims. These he has himself stated to be the subjects dealt with in the Introduction (which is more especially recommended to the philosophic reader); Biogenesis: Death: Eternal Life. So far as his method is concerned, the Professor's case rests chiefly on the Introduction, which is the most important, if not the most interesting part of his work. In dealing with that, it is my purpose to examine critically so much of the author's reasoning as may appear open to some objection, or at least to some reasonable doubt.

In treating of the other subjects, my object will be, not so much to show that Mr. Drummond's conclusions are wrong, as assuming them to be correct, to press these conclusions a little further and exemplify the actual religious lessons to be learnt from them. For I am persuaded that thousands who have accepted Mr. Drummond's advocacy with boundless gratitude, may well be alarmed at perceiving clearly the drift of the doctrines they have so cheerfully applauded.

Section II. The Introduction:—Mr. Drummond thus defines natural law, p 5: "The fundamental conception of law "is an ascertained working sequence or constant order "among the phenomena of Nature," and again "the "laws of Nature are simply statements of the orderly con- "dition of things in Nature—*what is found in nature by "a sufficient number of competent observers.*" Nothing could be clearer or more satisfactory than the author's definition of law: and it is important to bear it in mind while following his arguments for the projection of this natural law into the spiritual world. Because it is precisely at the point where, in a scientific enquiry such as his, we have every right to expect the greatest clearness, the most scrupulous observance of the terms of his definitions, that the author is apt, as it seems to me, to lose sight of these indispensable details. As an illustration of my meaning, I quote from page 11: "The laws of the *Invisible* are the *same laws*, projections of "the natural, not supernatural." It is difficult to understand how, upon the author's own definition, there can *be* any laws of the Invisible: since a law is nothing more than a "constant order among the *phenomena of nature.*" They are "mere "statements—of what is found in nature by a sufficient num- "ber of competent observers." Yet we are immediately told that the laws of the invisible are not similar or analogous, but the *same laws*: that is to say, they are statements of what a sufficient number of competent observers have seen in the

invisible. I am aware that possibly Mr. Drummond's meaning may be slightly different: but, in his eagerness to transfer at once the fruit of tested science to the domain of religion, he is occasionally very oblivious of his own definitions and unfortunate in his use of terms. And I allude to the point, rather as an illustration of the author's bias, than a serious attack upon his theory. At page 6 he thus writes of the natural laws; "They are drawn for us to understand a part by "some Hand that drew the whole: so drawn, perhaps, that "understanding the part, we too in time may learn to understand "the whole. Now the enquiry we propose to ourselves resolves "itself into the simple question: Do these lines stop with what "we call the Natural sphere?—Is it probable that the Hand "which ruled them gave up the work where most of all they "were required?" Considering the character of the 'Introduction' and its professedly scientific form, an agnostic or sceptic may very justly complain of such language in enunciating the object and basis of the enquiry. In the two or three sentences quoted, it is easy to point out more than one veiled *petitio principii*; that most insidious, vicious and captivating argumentative fallacy. We are not surprised to meet, in the common talk of comparatively unlearned churchmen, frequent instances of the kind; but Professor Drummond is a man of science, and ought to be keenly alive to the danger of employing such methods. Yet, as soon as he allows his mind to pass for an instant from the domain of science proper to that of religion, he is as profuse and careless of this unworthy error as though, instead of a scholar and profound thinker, giving to the world the deliberate fruits of a ripe mind, he were himself the merest neophyte of logic. It is evident that by 'the whole' is meant not the whole of the Natural world (which in this connexion would be its only legitimate sense), but the Natural world *plus* the Spiritual world, the very existence of which is first to be proved before it is to be assumed that the laws drawn by some Hand for the world we know, will certainly be extended into the world of which we know nothing. And again, most of those whom alone Mr. Drummond could have desired to *convince* would naturally demur to the assumption, that any laws were required at all, much less "most of all required" in any particular state of being, until we had been supplied with good and conclusive evidence that the state existed. The Professor immediately clinches his argument, by enquiring whether we can suppose that the great Hand divided the world into two, a cosmos and a chaos; and whether, while recognising nature to be the symbol of all harmony and beauty that is known to man, we are still to talk of the supernatural as a different order of world, a world where the reign

of Mystery supersedes the reign of Law? In spite of the authorities quoted, Plato, Christ, Plotinus, Swedenborg, Bacon, Pascal, Carlyle and Tennyson (surely a most remarkable collection), to establish the proposition that "it has been all but a commonplace with thinkers that the invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made," I demur both to the truth of the proposition and more especially to its applicability in the narrowed theological sense in which the author would apply it. The sceptic would simply reply to Mr. Drummond's question about the natural and the supernatural, that, as far as he was aware, or, indeed, as human *knowledge* had gone, there was no division into chaos and cosmos; natural and supernatural. That, so far from using "supernatural" as a convenient word to express a different order of world, he would not use it in any sense, or even admit the existence of a 'supernatural' world. Nor is there much point in informing a body of well informed and scientific opinion, which has so far been quite unable 'to see clearly the invisible things of God,' that it is almost a commonplace with thinkers that such invisible things are, and have been always clearly seen. What is essentially requisite before any such arguments or assertions can be profitably considered, is a clear definition of the ambiguous terms used. 'The invisible things of God' surely requires some precise explanation: as the phrase now stands, it is hardly likely that persons brought up in opposite schools of thought will attach any common meaning to it. And it is this extremely lax and unscientific method of basing arguments on the connotation of wide and disputed terms, which leaves the mind vaguely dissatisfied with almost every one of Mr. Drummond's principal positions. Here, and in all that follows, Mr. Drummond speaks of the "phenomena of the spiritual world" as though it were universally conceded, and in fact axiomatic that the Spiritual world afforded phenomena, that these phenomena were strictly analogous with the phenomena of the Natural world. That a large proportion of Mr. Drummond's opponents would decline to make such liberal concessions, is, I think, indubitable. They might well ask to be told in what sense he understands the 'Spiritual' world; and what phenomena he appropriates peculiarly to it. It is singular and significant that the Professor should state a great many of his most essential premises in terms that usually involve the old *petitio principii* fallacy, without appearing to be conscious that

* Pascal. he lies under any obligation to "define* his terms and prove his propositions." It is not, however, difficult to trace the workings of our author's mind, and so understand the persistency with which he overlooks all the

requirements of a scientific enquiry, in bringing the language of science to the support of Religion. "For one thing," he says, "we do not demand of Nature directly to prove Religion. "That was never its function. Its function is to interpret." That is to say, in other words, "Religion (*i.e.* my religion) is infallibly true; let me see what support I can derive from Nature for it."

And if this remarkable book were intended solely as an exhortation to the faithful, and so understood by them, Mr. Drummond would be in the right. But Christians have regarded "Natural law in the Spiritual world" as a triumphant scientific vindication of Religion: a book which ought not only to sustain the believer, but carry conviction to the sceptic. So far from fulfilling either of these expectations, it appears to me that Mr. Drummond, by the curious confusion he has introduced in his methods, has left untouched the unbelief of the sceptic, while in his perfected doctrine, the outcome of this quasi-scientific treatment, he has infinitely narrowed the creeds and paralyzed the energizing hopes of all believers. And this is Mr. Drummond's scientific explanation of the mental attitude of a religious agnostic. "It is the want of the discerning faculty, "the clairvoyant power of seeing the eternal in the temporal, "rather than the failure of the reason, that begets the sceptic." This is a sentence which has a great show of positive meaning and yet means nothing. What is the test of the possession of this clairvoyant power? Is it the *ipse dixit* of every religious enthusiast, every complacent pharisee? Nothing can be easier than to assert that I have this singular power: nothing can obviously be more impossible than to detect the fraud of such an assertion. Mr. Drummond is quite right to attribute scepticism to such an evasive and intangible cause, rather than "to any failure of the reason." Since, curiously enough, it is the cultivation and high development of the reason which, as a rule, produces the sceptic. But no one could attempt to combat the proposition as it stands. Sceptics are sceptics because they are dissatisfied with sonorous and meaningless words like "the "clairvoyant faculty of seeing the eternal in the temporal;" because they desire to be informed what this faculty is; how it comes to be wanting in some men; how it may be cultivated; whether it is within the reach of all, or whether, like the talent of music, it is absolutely unattainable by those who are obliged to confess with sorrow that they have it not. Everyone probably comprises in his acquaintance a certain number of men and women who are prepared to accept Mr. Drummond unconditionally as their spokesman and advocate against the free thinker: persons, therefore, who will, without hesitation, lay claim to the possession of this characteristic faculty. When it

appears nevertheless, as it unfortunately too often does, that a large proportion of these exceptionally gifted beings are narrow-minded, bigoted, petty, wanting in tolerance and liberal knowledge, above all, wanting in charity and humility, perhaps I may be excused for doubting whether there is any real and demonstrable truth in the assertion that they are, by the gift of a particular faculty, brought into direct correspondence with a God who is the source and repository of Knowledge, and Charity and Love. I am able to judge by results of the presence or absence of natural faculties: there can never be any dispute amongst intelligent men whether a person be blind or has sight: whether he be deaf or have hearing; whether he has or has not a musical ear. But if we apply the same test here, it would often seem that the noblest, most expansive, most liberal and charitable minds are absolutely without capacity to correspond with the fount of Knowledge and Love, while the ignorant, the uncharitable, and the bigoted are in direct and privileged communication with it. And we are to take such a startling proposition to be true on no other guarantee than the vague professions of individuals that they see the eternal in the temporal clairvoyantly. It is very easy for any person to say that he believes this, that, or the other: but to profess a belief, and to *have* a justifiable belief, are mental conditions widely dissimilar. No man in science has a right to believe anything in support of which he cannot advance sound and cogent reasons. I wonder how many good men and women who profess a faculty of perceiving by second sight the eternal in the temporal, have the faintest conception of what they mean, or of the arguments by which they may reasonably hope to defend the faith that is in them? But if the case is different with religion, and there are points upon which belief is to rest upon other grounds than intelligible reasons, I think we have still the right to insist, that persons professing these arbitrary beliefs should make plain by their conversation and conduct that their faith is operative in them to produce a corresponding exaltation and enlargement of character. A man in common life who says that he *believes* a house is about instantly to fall upon him, would be altogether irrational and unintelligible in the eyes of other men, if he nevertheless continued carelessly to live in it. In that case we should treat his assertion as purely frivolous: he might *say* he believed in the impending danger, but we could positively infer from his conduct that he believed nothing of the kind. We should have greater reason to trust in the sincerity of another, who, without making any vain professions, took measures to secure himself against the possible or probable consequences.

So with those who profess an intimate correspondence with

the God of wisdom and charity, while their conduct compares very unfavorably, in respect of the active operation of wisdom and charity, with that of others who make no parade of settled convictions upon points that admit of no reasonable proof. The former may upbraid the latter with the want of an additional and (*pace* Mr. Drummond) supernatural sense, but we are not on that account to take their verbal testimony as concluding the matter.

In speaking of Butler's Analogy, at p. 16. Mr. Drummond observes: "though he pointed out direct analogies of phenomena, "such as those between the *metamorphoses of insects* and the "doctrine of a future state, *κτλ.*." Here I feel again the constantly recurring difficulty that embarrasses the author's reasoning. The metamorphosis of an insect certainly *is* a phenomenon: it can be seen and observed by any body with eyes. But in what sense is the "doctrine of a future state" a phenomenon? The future state has never been seen, and never will be seen by mortal eyes. The *doctrine* of it cannot be accurately called a phenomenon: it is nothing more or less than a very warmly disputed conjecture. From a passage on page 17, it appears at last that Mr. Drummond would instance miracles as phenomena of the spiritual world. But even *he* disapproves of a too rigid adherence to this test, since, logically considered, it would make of Religion a thing apart from all Natural Laws and in conflict with them: and Mr. Drummond knows very well that science will have none of this "great exception." This is well; for until miracles are as universally accepted as they are at present almost universally rejected by scientific sceptics, it is clear that their value for argumentative and probative purposes is at a minimum.

At p. 20 there is this striking passage. "If there is any truth "in the unity of Nature, in that supreme principle of continuity "which is growing in splendour with every discovery of science, the

* That Theology can be brought within the domain of Science.

"conclusion * is foregone. If there is any "foundation for theology, if the phenomena of the spiritual world are real, in "the nature of things they ought to come "into the sphere of Law." Everybody

is aware, or prepared with caution to admit, that there is Truth in the unity of Nature: but the precise point of difference between doubt and orthodoxy is whether there *is* any foundation for theology; whether there are any phenomena of a spiritual world; whether, if so, those phenomena are real or illusory; whether, in short, there is a real spiritual world at all. All these questions should be answered affirmatively with intelligible and convincing proofs; instead of which Mr. Drummond merely puts them interrogatively, as being the

strongest form of affirmation. He ignores the possibility of anyone answering them all in the negative. Leading up to the position through analogies drawn from the sciences of Botany and Geology, Mr. Drummond, says of Theology : " But " if it has a basis in the constitution and course of Nature, " that basis has never been adequately shown. It has depend- " ed on authority rather than on Law : and a new basis must " be sought and found if it is to be presented to those with " whom law alone is authority." Now this is a distinct challenge to scientific scepticism which demands laws as its authority : and it holds out a reasonable expectation that the author is in a position to establish the fundamental truths of theology without any assistance from authority. Those who have attentively perused his book will be obliged to admit that if he ever seriously contemplated such an attempt, he has altogether failed. It is only by constantly falling back upon scriptural authority that he is enabled to give a superficial appearance of cohesion to the system he endeavours to evolve from natural laws. On p. 25 Mr. Drummond, after quoting Mr. Frederic Harrison's well known challenge to orthodox religion, and declaring that " we think religious truth, or at all events cer- tain of the largest facts of the spiritual Life can be stated in terms of the rest of our knowledge," begins to feel some uneasi- ness about the mysterious spiritual world. " We do not say," he writes, " that the proposal includes an attempt to prove the exis- tence of the spiritual world. Does that need proof ? The facts of the spiritual world are as real to thousands, as the facts of the natural world, and more real to hundreds. But were one asked to prove that the spiritual world can be discerned by the appropriate faculties, one would do it precisely as one would attempt to prove the natural world to be an object of recogni- tion to the senses, and with as much or as little success. In either instance, probably, the fact would be found incapable of demonstration, but not more in the one case than the other."

Now this appears to me entirely misleading and sophistical. In the first place, considering the nature of Professor Drummond's enquiry, the existence of a spiritual world does most emphatically demand proof. To pretend that it is a fact uni- versally conceded, is merely shirking an imperative obligation. Mr. Drummond evidently felt this, and by way of showing how easy it would be to prove his most essential postulate, he tells his readers that the fact is as easily to be proved as facts in the natural world, which cannot be proved at all. And his inference is that since all the world accept the latter without proof, they ought to be equally ready to accept the former. But there is a plain distinction between the cases. It may or not be capa- ble of demonstration, but if you show a tree to ten hundred

millions of rational human beings at any period in the world's history, each and all of them will agree in admitting that there is a tree ; so with light and darkness, and every fact properly so called in the natural world. But no two persons, let alone two hundred millions, will exactly agree through twenty-four hours, let alone all time, upon the conceptions they may have of so-called facts in the spiritual world.

In this province each individual's imagination, colored by emotion, is the medium through which he receives impressions, concepts and ideas of what may or may not be facts. There is no unanimous consensus of opinion. If there be a spiritual world at all, our knowledge of it is dependent upon our unrestrained imaginations ; we can never test our opinions by experience ; where the facts of the natural world are certainly recognized by every sentient being, the facts of the spiritual world are liable to the distortion of every individual's passing emotions. It would be equally pertinent to say that dreams are as real to thousands as the facts of every day life, but no wise man would recommend an enthusiastic dreamer to treat his night fancies as substantial facts and regulate his conduct accordingly.

Mr. Drummond proceeds : " Science deals with known facts, and accepting *certain known facts* in the spiritual world, we proceed to arrange them *κτλ.*" Again there is this vicious abuse of language ; if the author would only tell us what facts are *scientifically known* in a *scientific spiritual world*, instead of taking it for granted that there are many such, it would be much easier to follow his reasoning.

There is something very baffling in the author's style throughout. There is scarcely a sentence, and never a finished argument, which does not give rise to some obvious objection. As an instance, on page 30, "no single fact in science has ever discredited a fact in Religion." Facts do not and cannot discredit each other ; and yet the comfort which the writer means to convey in this emphatic sentence, to those who shrink from confronting Religion with science, is surely offered in an extremely misleading form. For it is certain that if by Religion the reader is to understand (as 990 out of every 1,000 do understand) the Bible narrative and teachings, a great many details and accidents to be found therein, and which were formerly called and believed to be facts, have been discredited by science and the scientific methods. Put in plain and honest language the meaning of this sentence is 'that which is true in religion need not fear the truth of science,' which is a very comforting assurance, or otherwise, in proportion as we can be sure how much *is* true in religion. And again at p. 33, after speaking of scientific discoveries as "revelations of truth," we are told that "revelation *never*

volunteers anything that man could discover for himself, on the principle, probably, that it is only when he is capable of discovering it that he is capable of appreciating it." This, as it stands, is a most extraordinary statement. Apart from the fact that Mr. Drummond generally speaks of *discoveries* as Revelations, it amounts to this that Revelation never volunteers anything to men except when they are incapable of appreciating it. For a man is not capable of appreciating the Revelation till he is capable of discovering it: and it is when he is capable of discovering it that Revelation never volunteers anything. That is the only possible meaning I can extract from the sentence I have quoted, and it is truly a dark saying. Having so far cleared the ground, or, as it seems to me, involved the questions to be discussed in great uncertainty, Mr. Drummond proceeds to illustrate and explain the basis of his whole theory, the law of continuity. And, as the key note of the book is struck here, I quote the passage in full. (p. 35): "The "law of continuity furnishes an *a priori* argument for the "position we are attempting to establish of the most con- "vincing kind—of such a kind, indeed, as to seem to our mind "final. Briefly indicated, the ground taken up is this, that if "Nature be a harmony, Man in all his relations, physical, mental "moral and spiritual—falls to be included within its circle. "It is altogether unlikely that Man spiritual should be violently "separated in all the conditions of growth, development, and "life from Man physical. It is indeed difficult to conceive "that one set of principles should guide the natural life, and "these at a certain period—the very point where they are "needed—suddenly give place to another set of principles "altogether new and unrelated. Nature has never taught us "to expect such a catastrophe. She has nowhere prepared "us for it. And man cannot, in the nature of things, in the "nature of thought, in the nature of language, be separated "into two such incoherent halves."

And at p. 38 "it was reserved for the law of continuity to "put the finishing touch to the harmony and the universe." It is necessary to understand clearly what the law of continuity is. Continuity is to the universe what reason is to the individual. It is because of the law of continuity that we are justified in expecting the sun to rise and set, tides to flow, men to walk erect;—in a word, the recurrence of the same phenomena under the same conditions. It is the law to which all other laws conform. And Mr. Drummond's application (after an extremely lucid explanation of the great law) is in this wise: (p. 41) "As the natural laws are continuous through the universe of matter and of space, so will they be continuous through the universe of spirit." And he throws

the burden of disproof on those who deny it. The argument is, he says, founded on a principle which is now admitted to be universal. This appears to be a most conclusive argument. We are told that any person, who is bold enough to take up the position that there exists a region where at last the principle of continuity fails, would be obliged first to overturn nature, then science, and last the human mind. Without attempting to bring about such a complete cataclysm it may be objected that, while cheerfully admitting the principle of continuity in all regions, properly so called, doubts may be felt whether there *is* any universe of spirit in which continuity can operate. This is the real difficulty, and this is the difficulty which Mr. Drummond either overlooks or purposely ignores. If it be conceded that there is a Spiritual world in the sense in which Mr. Drummond uses these words, directly outlying the present Natural world, it would be very just to argue that all laws which regulate the spiritual part of man here, will obey the law of continuity, and be projected into that Spiritual world. And if, further, it is found that the natural laws known to science do in fact regulate the spiritual part of man's nature, precisely as they regulate the inorganic and organic world around him, Mr. Drummond's case for natural law in the spiritual world is fairly made out. But it is evident that there are several conditions, all of which require to be fulfilled before we can admit the truth of the conclusion. Speaking of the universality of the Law of Life (p. 45), Mr. Drummond says: "wherever there is life we may expect to find it arranged, ordered, governed according to the same law. At the beginning of the natural life, we find the law that natural life can only come from pre-existing natural life: and at the beginning of the spiritual life, we find that the spiritual life can only come from pre-existing spiritual life." This is another of the too frequent fallacies, another *petitio principii* with which the book is marred. It has been found by the most laborious and accurate experiments that animal life cannot be spontaneously generated; but to couple with this scientific fact, in such a manner as to imply that *it*, too, was the result of conclusive experiment and a universally admitted fact, the questionable assertion that spiritual life can only come from pre-existing spiritual life, is to beg the entire question. It may be fairly doubted whether, in the ordinary acceptation of the term "life," there is such a thing as spiritual life apart from natural life: at best the words are nothing more than a metaphor borrowed from that organic life, the workings of which science can watch with the minutest particularity. Abandoning this ground for a moment, such a view of the dual life in man is quite inconsistent with the Bible narrative. If that narrative

means anything, it means that man was inorganic until God breathed on him the breath of life: there is no attempt to distinguish between a prior organic and a later spiritual creation. And as will appear in working out the theory based upon this fallacious hypothesis, Mr. Drummond is driven into very curious and untenable positions. However, to resume the thread of this interesting exposition, we next find Mr. Drummond laying it down that, as gravitation will act whether the substance be suns and stars, or grains of sand, or rain drops, so Biogenesis will act wherever there is life. The parallel is elegant and beautiful: but it does not allow for the doubt whether there is such a thing as spiritual *life*, in the sense in which there is organic life. It is plain that if spiritual life, of which we can know nothing positive, is something quite distinct from the natural life which we do know, and from which we have borrowed the metaphor, there is at least a considerable probability of the parallel proving fallacious.

The argument, compendiously stated, continues thus. The laws of the natural life must also be the laws of the spiritual life: but this is not to exclude the possibility that they are not the sole, or indeed the chief, laws of the higher world. They may be suspended in subordination to other and higher laws, as we find gravitation to be supreme in the inorganic, but frequently overruled in the organic world. "If the law of continuity is true, the only way to escape the conclusion that 'the laws of the natural life are the laws, or at least are laws, of the spiritual life, is to *say that there is no spiritual life*. It is really easier to give up the phenomena (?) than to give up 'the law." (p. 47.) The probabilities of additional laws being discovered in the spiritual world is then discussed, and the conclusion arrived at is "after all then our knowledge of higher law must be limited by our knowledge of the lower The greatest among the theological laws are the laws of 'nature in disguise. It will be the splendid task of the theology of the future to take off the mask and disclose to a 'waning scepticism the naturalness of the supernatural." This is very impressive, the language is highly dignified, and the subject of the announcement seems to merit the style of its expression. But what is it after all? Merely a restatement of the truism that what is true is certainly not false.

But whether, in fact, the teachings of Mr. Drummond's theology are to be found at once in natural law and in the usually accepted meanings of Christian belief, can only be properly estimated when we examine attentively the conclusions he draws from the projection of these more than analogous, these identical, laws of nature into the spirit world.

The philosophical introduction is now happily nearly

exhausted, and we shall shortly be in a position to test the merits of the method by its results. So far it is to be observed that Mr. Drummond has consistently spoken of the projection of the natural laws into the Spiritual world. This, however, is an inaccuracy. He explains (pp. 53, 54) that in truth the projection is from the Spiritual into the Natural world. "The first in the field was the Spiritual world," p. 53. "The visible universe "has been developed from the unseen" (p. 54). "The unseen "existed before the seen." (*ib.*) And he further puts this new meaning upon Law. "After all, the true greatness of Law lies in its vision of the unseen." Law in the visible is the Invisible in the visible" (p. 55.) From which he concludes that it is an error to speak of Laws as 'natural' since this would define them as applying only to that part of the universe that can be perceived by the senses, whereas all Law is essentially Spiritual. These propositions are so vague that little profit is to be expected either from assenting to or denying them. All that we can *know* is that which we can perceive and test by means of one or other of the senses: and that knowledge alone can we attempt to clothe in accurate language. Once we overstep these limits, we may indulge in any dreams, and embody our imagination in any language that appears suitable; but propositions of that character will hardly command universal assent, or make any useful addition to scientific knowledge.

Upon the authority of Huxley and the authors of the "Unseen universe," Mr. Drummond enforces the proposition that matter is, in comparison with what is immaterial, the less important part of the physical universe. Mr. Huxley is quoted as stating, in agreement with Descartes, "that we know more "of mind than we do of body: that the immaterial world is a "firmer reality than the material." It is in transferring Huxley's conclusion from the mental to the theologicoo-spiritual world that Mr. Drummond seems to me to fall into a very grave fallacy. The scientific argument is correct enough. In the case of every individual human being, personal consciousness is more vivid and real than the consciousness of any external phenomenon.

And from this fact it is a legitimate conclusion that the human race collectively know more of mind than matter. But Mr. Drummond substitutes, for personal consciousness, religious consciousness (as will sufficiently appear in examining his finished theory), and, assuming that it is universal (which it certainly is not), he infers from it the reality of a corresponding spiritual, as opposed to a merely mental state. Not only this, but resting his confidence in the existence of such a theologicoo-spiritual world upon the *universality* of every human being's consciousness of it, he illustrates it in such a way as to

prove conclusively that not only are an infinite majority of mankind perfectly *unconscious* of it, but they are absolutely incapable of ever attaining that consciousness. Those who, in accordance with Mr. Drummond's view, are spiritually alive, cannot bear the proportion of more than one or two in a million to those who are hopelessly and eternally spiritually dead. The spiritually dead occupy in the spiritual world, according to Mr. Drummond's theory, precisely the same relative position to the spiritually living, as all the inorganic world occupies relatively to the organic in Nature. But if Mr. Huxley's conclusion had depended for its validity upon including in his major stocks and stones, as well as human beings; if he had attempted to deduce the reality of an immaterial world to men from the consciousness of such mental phenomena possessed by stones and other inorganic matter, it is hardly likely that the proposition would ever have been stated, and entirely certain that no one would have assented to it. Yet this is precisely the manner in which it has been converted, and the use to which it has been put by Mr. Drummond. The concluding sentences in the introduction prepare us at once to understand the author's real point of view, and the difficulties we are likely to meet in endeavouring to agree with him. "The visible is the ladder up "to the invisible, the temporal is but the scaffolding up to the "eternal: and when the last immaterial souls have climbed "through this material to God, the scaffolding shall be taken "down, and the earth dissolved with fervent heat, not because it "was base, but because its work is done." (p. 57.) This illustrates the author's theological prepossessions and the difficulty he finds, in spite of his frequent professions, in losing sight of 'authority.' It is far from being a fact of certain knowledge that the earth *will* be dissolved with fervent heat; but this is the end appointed by Scripture, and Mr. Drummond announces it in a scientific exposition as a scientific fact. And as he is not here under the dominion of awkward logic, he reverts, perhaps unconsciously, to the Christian hope that all men may be saved. Later on it becomes too painfully clear that very, very few immaterial souls can, if his theories are correct, ever have the faintest expectation of "climbing through this material to God."

It has been impossible, within the narrow limits at my command, to do more than indicate many points in Mr. Drummond's scientific and theoretical justification for his modern Christianity, which may well occasion doubts as to the general soundness of the structure in which they are to be found. In briefly examining the fruits of his system, the task is happily easy. I do not, except where it seems absolutely needful, while dealing with that part of my subject, propose to do more than carry out

the author's teachings to their legitimate and ultimate conclusions. I shall ordinarily assume for that purpose that he is correct as far as he has gone (although I trust that I have suggested several reasons upon which an intelligent doubt in that respect may to be founded), and shall point out precisely what doctrines those honest and simple-minded Christians who have surrendered their judgments so unreservedly to his learned and splendid style, are in fact committing themselves.

Biogenesis.—The Scientific Truth of Biogenesis in the Natural world, transferred to the Spiritual world and used as an explanation and confirmation of Christian theology, is the basis of Mr. Drummond's Scientific Religion. The chapter in which this interesting and important subject is handled with consummate ingenuity, deserves to engage the most patient and impartial examination. Biogenesis, or the Theory that life in the organic world cannot be spontaneously generated, is now, as Mr. Drummond informs us upon the authority of Huxley and Tyndall, 'victorious all along the line.' "So far as Science can settle any thing, this question (*i.e.*, the conflict between Biogenesis and Abiogenesis) is settled." This doctrine excludes the possibility of life appearing independently of antecedent life: and taking it to be a settled Truth of Science, so far as the natural world is concerned, Mr. Drummond, applying his law of laws, the law of continuity, projects the doctrine into the Spiritual world. There is no such thing, (he lays it down without any qualification whatever), as spiritual life spontaneously generated; as, in short, spiritual life independent of precedent spiritual life. I am much more concerned here with following Mr. Drummond's reasoning to its legitimate and ultimate conclusions, than with any attempt at raising points of difference with him over his premisses. For the sake of argument let us admit that the members of "that small school which in the face of derision and opposition, has persistently maintained the doctrine of Biogenesis," are absolutely right, and that the members of that much larger school which preaches from a thousand modern pulpits every seventh day the doctrine of spontaneous generation are absolutely wrong; and let us with our author place vividly before our imagination the picture of the two great Kingdoms of Nature. What is meant, asks Mr. Drummond, by denying spontaneous generation of life? And he answers the question thus: "It is meant that the passage "from the mineral world to the plant or animal world is hermetically sealed on the mineral side. This inorganic world is "staked off from the living world by barriers which have never "yet been crossed from within. Only by the bending down "into this dead world of some living form can these dead atoms "be gifted with the properties of vitality. And if

"there is one thing in nature more worth pondering for its "strangeness, it is the spectacle of this *vast helpless world of the dead, cut off from the living* by the Law of Biogenesis and "denied, for ever the possibility of Resurrection within itself "It is as if God had placed everything in Earth and Heaven in "the hands of Nature, but reserved a point at the genesis of life "for his direct appearing." And here is the analogy which is drawn from this natural truth, and stated in positive terms as applying to the spiritual world. "The passage from the Natural "world to the Spiritual world is hermetically sealed on the natural "side. The door from the inorganic to the organic is shut, "no mineral can open it; *so the door* from the natural to the "spiritual is shut and no man can open it. . . . No organic "change, no modification of environment, no mental energy, "no moral effort, no evolution of character, no progress of "civilization can endow any single human soul with the attri- "bute of spiritual life. The Spiritual world is guarded from "the world next in order beneath it by a law of Biogenesis— "except a man be born again except a man be born of "water and the spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God."

(p. 71.)

This is a close and splendid verbal parallel. I cannot allow myself yet to dwell upon what I believe to be fallacies involved in the author's method of construction: though, perhaps, when we see clearly the kind of creed he is building up and the probable consequences to conduct which it might and logically ought to be prolific, I may be excused for indicating some few weak links in the chain of reasoning. It would be too melancholy and hopeless a world if the author's doctrine were as incontestably true as its perfected results must be morally and spiritually petrifying. For the outcome of this teaching is, in the first place, that taking all the human beings who have ever lived both before and after Christ, a merely infinitesimal fraction can even pretend to have attained spiritual life. Before Christ men were born to die: there *was* no spiritual life, no chance, no hope for the unfortunate beings who, in every discernable respect, differed not in a single atom from the men that came after. "Christ," says Mr. Drummond with persistent, reiterated, uncompromising dogmatism, "Christ is the source of Life in the Spiritual world, and he that hath not the Son of God hath not Life." A few,—how few the human spirit shudders to contemplate,—have been selected, for no merit of their own, without the faintest co-operation on their part, to share the Eternal Life, the only Life in fact that can be properly so called. "The natural man belongs "essentially to this present order of things. He is endowed "simply with a high quality of the natural animal life. "But it is *Life of so poor a quality that it is not Life at all.*"

This is the great gospel of Mr. Drummond's Biogenesis. Is the doctrine rational? Is it to be conceived that, although we are, every one of us, capable of perceiving and appreciating the advantages of this Spiritual life, we are at the same time as incapable of making any movement whatever in the direction of reaching them as the stones at our feet are incapable of aspiring to the Life of organic Beings? Like the dead stones, we lie helpless, though, unlike them, perfectly conscious and observant; here and there the Spirit of Life, which is Christ (in the narrowest and most sectarian sense), breathes upon one of us, and that person enters at once into the kingdom of God. It is plain that here is Predestination or Election with a vengeance. I am confident that no dispassionate reader could close a perusal of Mr. Drummond's Chapter on Biogenesis without candidly admitting that it is very much more like Theology read into Science, than Science impartially used for the illustration of common spiritual truths. In commenting upon the Preface it may be recollect that I expressed doubts whether, in spite of his disclaimer, Mr. Drummond had not in fact largely read his Theology into his Science. And since it is very just that, while often complaining of the vague use which Mr. Drummond makes of terms and arguments, I should not myself indulge in vague and merely general criticism, I may here instance a few occasions in which it appears to me that the author has fallen into this error.

So long as Mr. Drummond is on scientific ground, his exposition of Biogenesis is naturally enough perfectly impartial: but as soon as he would draw his analogy and establish Christian Truth on a basis of Natural Law, it seems to me undeniable that he reads his Theology, and a very narrow sectarian Theology, into his Science. I affirm, without much fear of contradiction, that Mr. Drummond's application of his scientific truth is colored and dominated at every second or third paragraph by scriptural authority, and the conclusions which he has drawn, although they are, as was to be expected, upon this hypothesis, consistent enough with a Calvinistic interpretation of the New Testament, are such as no scientific man whose mind was not penetrated by that peculiar theology, and who was not prepared to fall back for enlightenment upon Revelation, would have ever arrived at upon the same premisses. When we are to consider the evidence for this great gulf fixed at the portals of the Spiritual world, Mr. Drummond appeals to Science, Reason, Experience and Revelation. He admits that "the initial statement, it is not to be denied, reaches us from Revelation," and he justifies the use of Revelation in a scientific argument upon this

ground. "The right of the Spiritual world to speak of its "own phenomena is as secure as the right of the Natural world "to speak of itself." What is science but what the Natural "world has said to natural men? What is Revelation but "what the Spiritual world has said to Spiritual men?" Now I must repeat that this kind of language is, in my opinion, a mere abuse of correct reasoning, attributable to nothing else than the theological bias working on a scientifically trained mind. It is reading theology into science very freely. Need I discriminate between the cases. The Revelation which is the voice of the Spiritual world in the ears of Spiritual men, ought, if there be the slightest value in the comparison, to be as universally accepted as scientific discoveries, which, for the sake of pointing an illusive argument, are here called the voice of the Natural world in the ears of Natural men. But is it so? Are there not a score or more of Revelations claiming the same authority as Mr. Drummond's particular Revelation, every one of which Mr. Drummond would unhesitatingly and without compunction dismiss as impostures, delusions, ravings, diabolical possessions;—any thing, indeed, rather than the voice of the Spiritual world speaking to Spiritual men? Mr. Drummond might answer that these creeds do not fit the formulæ of Biogenesis as closely or satisfactorily as his own revealed creed happens to do. Firstly, observing that such a reply would at once destroy the pertinency of Mr. Drummond's plea for Revelation as scientific proof, I might add that the truth of the answer depends entirely upon the point at which you intend to fit your Science upon your Revelation. There is probably no widely popular faith to the foundations of which the law of Biogenesis has anything of value to say. The Mussulman, the Buddhist, the Hindu might all reconcile it easily enough with their respective beliefs. The breath* of God, they might say, has breathed on all mankind, and endowed every man from his birth with the potentiality of developing the higher life within him. When Mr. Drummond writes: "if the doctrine of the spontaneous generation of "Spiritual life can be met on scientific grounds, it will mean "the removal of the most serious enemy Christianity has to "deal with, and especially within its own borders at the present "day," (page 67) it is plain that he is entirely dominated by a sectarian spirit: in other words, that he is reading his Theology into his Science. For, upon his own cherished theory, it can obviously make not the slightest difference to the world at

*Note.—Mr. Drummond, I need not say, interprets science by the words of Scripture. With him there is no life except the life derived from Christ the Son of God. This is dogmatic, but not scientific.

large whether Spiritual Life be spontaneous or not : except indeed that a few anxious hearts might be rendered indescribably miserable, by the belief that the election or rejection of themselves and their friends was a matter as arbitrary and beyond their own control as the distribution of prizes in a public lottery. As the spiritual dead can never be any thing else than spiritually dead, and the spiritually alive become spiritually alive, independent of all conduct or volition on either side, it is difficult to understand what benefit the former are to derive from realizing their desperate plight, or the latter from being informed of the certainty of their salvation, nor how the absence of such superfluous knowledge can ever have been a serious enemy to Christianity. As between conflicting sects, Calvinists, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Episcopalian and so forth, perhaps the enunciation of a dogma always much relied upon by one of these sects, reproduced in the guise of scientific and incontestable truth, may fill the bosoms of some with envious despair or of others with righteous complacency. But beyond this the author's language is mere exaggeration, and meaningless unless it be understood by the light of his theological bias. Again, Mr. Drummond writes : "there is no analogy between the Christian Religion and say Buddhism, or the Mohammedan Religion. There is no *true sense* in which a man can say, *He that hath Buddha hath Life.*" It is to be recollected that this passage is a commentary on the "Scientific" grim distinction : He that hath not the Son hath not Life ;" and we are told that this great law finally distinguishes Christianity from all other Religions. The answer simply is that the sincere Buddhist might use the words in just as true a sense to himself, as Mr. Drummond may apply to himself the Christian formula : "He that hath Christ hath Life." The cases in fact, so far from being, as intended, illustratively opposite, are absolutely parallel, after allowances are made for subjective differences. No Scientific writer would have been led into using arguments of this positive form and unsound matter, unless he had been powerfully influenced by theological bias —in a word, reading his Theology into his Science. Mr. Drummond's position with reference to other religions, simply is that they *are* false to begin with, and that Biogenesis can be made to prove them so. It is with Mr. Drummond, indeed, the old, old difference between Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy ; "Orthodoxy, my good Sir, is *my* doxy, and Heterodoxy is *your* doxy." It is quite as consistent with the Law of Biogenesis, to take a wider view and give all religions an equal chance in the field of Life, by assuming that the entire human race (who as natural men are similarly endowed) are, in their capacity for Spiritual Life, equally endowed with a common vital principle. If we were

to select a few texts here and there, and insist upon their literal interpretation, perhaps we might find it difficult to reconcile this theory with them, although it is *a priori* far more accordant with every rational conception of the potentialities of human existence, as well as with all the most powerfully attractive features in Christ's character and mission. But Mr. Drummond will have us follow the texts ; and, adhering to an 'authority' which, he explained in his preface, would not be requisite, he has formulated his central dogma of Spiritual Biogenesis, a kind of hybrid between Science and Revelation.

Those who read Mr. Drummond and are carried away by the apparently resistless current of his science, exemplified by scripture quotations, would do well to pause here and reflect what this Biogenesis of the Spirit means to each of them individually. In the first place, it is just as well to realize vividly what this dogma imports concerning the past. In a word that the whole human race up to 1900 years ago were literally annihilated. They had no chance of life. "Christ is "the source of life in the Spiritual world, and he that hath the "Son hath Life, and he that hath not the Son, *whatever else he may have*, hath not Life." (p. 74.) Very good. That is explicit : and as we are repeatedly told by Mr. Drummond that we do a violence to Scripture language if we needlessly interpret it metaphorically, we have no difficulty whatever in seeing that, as Christ had not been made manifest to the world until a comparatively advanced period in its development, the generations which preceded that manifestation must have inevitably been dead. Observe that there is no middle course. The parallel is plain and the meaning obvious. As the stone is dead in the Natural world, so is the soul, without Christ, dead in the Spiritual world. There is no room for a faint hope that the feeble life may not have been quite extinguished, that a merciful Father, making allowances for the conditions under which men lived, would revive the dim and flickering flame ; no room, indeed, for any flattering compromise with Mr. Drummond's Biogenesis. It is not a question of spiritual lives ending : there was no spiritual life, every human being was morally and spiritually as dead as the dogs and donkeys, and as absolutely, irremediably so as a stone is said to be physically dead. Having thoroughly realized that picture, it is convenient to look at the dogma in its modern bearings. We are told that Christ himself founds Christianity upon Biogenesis. "Except a man be born of water and the spirit *επλ.* John III." (p. 74)

We are told that the natural man is as dead as a crystal, not only to the spiritual man, but to the whole spiritual world ; that there are not two laws of Biogenesis, one for the natural, the other for the spiritual ; one law is for both (p. 75). And it is

very properly pointed out that the second birth is almost as perplexing to the Theologian as the first to the Embryologist. While, however, the latter remains in doubt, the difficulties of the former, from Mr. Drummond's point of view, are completely removed by Revelation.

Here, then, is the modern religion. Its formula is simple. He that hath not the Son hath not Life — and never can get Life. Nor is it in the power of any person to obtain this life, or even to wish for it, or think about it, or regulate his conduct with regard to it, or in fact to feel the faintest concern in the subject. He is dead: dead as a crystal in respect to the whole Spiritual life (p. 75).

Such a doctrine as this, consigning an inconceivably large majority of human beings, not only in the past, but day by day and year by year, to spiritual extinction is, I venture to think, not so much a legitimate inference from the very simple truth of Biogenesis, as a natural product of applying science to old sectarian formulæ, under the influence of very strong Calvinistic prepossessions.

It is certain that the material part of man is dissolved by death; and Mr. Drummond teaches that, with rare and insignificant exceptions, there is nothing spiritual in the nature of man. His doctrine of Biogenesis, viewed practically, and in the light of results rather than of its theory, is virtually a doctrine of universal annihilation.

And yet, if he had not set before him the absorbing object of illustrating Scripture texts by natural laws, surely the dreadful consequences of his broad generalizations would have led him to re-examine, with anxious care, every link in the chain of his reasoning. Even if we admit that the Spiritual Life is anything more than a metaphor, is in fact of the same quality as natural life and governed by the same great law, "*Omne vivum ex vivo*," would it not occur to any unbiased enquirer, any enquirer who was not bent on justifying the literal truth of some pet textual Revelation, that the *principle* of Spiritual life was imparted to all men equally at the hands of the common Father of Life and Love? How that principle can best be developed and perfected, is a question upon which all churches may differ, but it has been reserved for the apostle of the modern Scientific Religion to announce the positive presence in a few, and the *positive absence* in millions of the spiritual faculty by which alone man can hope to attain everlasting life. Such a doctrine, amongst other things, stultifies missionary enterprise, and paralyses every generous and disinterested effort of proselytizing zeal.

Mr. Drummond is, I believe, himself a missionary amongst the poor; but upon what logical grounds he can defend the waste

of time occupied in haranguing absolute stocks and stones, it is difficult to conceive. He does not pretend, and he could not pretend (on the strength of his authority), that any thing short of the direct intervention of Christ could put life into the dead soul. It would be just as reasonable (if we can conceive such an extravagant picture) for birds to exhort trees to take on a higher form of life, or for trees to harangue the overhanging inorganic boulders, and entreat them to take thought how best they might cross the inscrutable gulf fixed between the dead and the living. Thus much for the striking theory of Spiritual Biogenesis.

Death and Eternal Life.—Such being Mr. Drummond's theory of the origin of Spiritual Life, let us briefly note the manner in which he treats of its extinction, or absence (Death), and of its infinite prolongation (Eternal Life).

The scientific definition of Life which Mr. Drummond quotes from Spencer, with approval, is : "The continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations;" and it is only by obtaining a vivid conception of what Science means by Life, that we can hope to realize the conditions of its antithesis, the state of Death.

In Biological language, a living organism is said to be in vital correspondence with its environment. It follows that there are degrees of life to be measured by the amount of the correspondence. As for instance, a tree, though alive, is very much more limited in its power of correspondence than a bird : and a bird again than a man. As soon as an organism is thrown out of correspondence with its environment, it is to that extent dead. A blind man is dead to all the world which corresponds with the organs of sight : a deaf man is dead to all which corresponds with the organs of hearing. From such simple and partially metaphoric illustrations, it must be easily understood that death is occasioned by the failure of any organism to adjust its internal relations to the external relations of its environment. Such a failure may be partial or complete. In the latter case, and speaking of Human Beings, we are confronted with the result popularly called Death. "There is now no 'correspondence whatever with environment—the thing, for "it is now a thing, is dead." (p. 151.)

This being the Biological explanation of death in the Natural world, and these the terms in which it is described, Mr. Drummond proceeds to examine the parallel phenomenon of "Death in the Spiritual world." The factors here are the same, organism and environment : "The truth to be emphasised "resolves itself into this, that Spiritual Death is a want of correspondence between the organism and the spiritual environment." (p. 152.) And here it does at last occur to the author

that the term 'Spiritual environment' demands some further definition. The definition which follows and which occupies pp. 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, is of this nature. Everything which surrounds an organism is its environment. It is immaterial whether or not the organism is conscious of the whole of its environment. The more complex the organism, the more extended are the limits of its environment, and the more in proportion is the region of Death diminished. At the top of the ascending scale is man, who corresponds with the whole environment. The outer circles to which his correspondence extends are to the inhabitants of the innermost circles, as if they were not.

Then, says Mr. Drummond, follows the momentous question : Is man in correspondence with the whole environment ? And his answer is, of course, in the negative. "Of men generally it cannot be said that they are in living contact with that part of the spiritual environment which is called the Spiritual world." (p. 156.) And he defends, what appears to be suspiciously like a *petitio principii*, by declaring that the "Spiritual world" is an essential part of the old idea. The Spiritual world is defined as the outermost segment, circle or circles of the Natural world. "What we have correspondence with we call Natural, what we have little or no correspondence with we call Spiritual."

This, then, is the deliberate and scientific definition of a Spiritual world. It is the outermost circle of correspondence : it is that with which we have *little* or *no* correspondence. It would appear to be more logical to omit the words "little or" in this definition : and it would then stand "the Spiritual world is that with which we have no correspondence."

For looking at the character of religion in general, there are few religious persons, I think, who would concede that their correspondence with God was something very slight by comparison with their material correspondences. Where there is any supposed or real correspondence with the so-called Spiritual world, those persons who lay claim to it can scarcely define it logically as being a comparatively limited correspondence. Either (which is in fact the case with a vast majority of the human race, if Mr. Drummond's theories are correct) there is absolutely no correspondence with this outermost segment of environment ; or it is a correspondence far more vivid and energising than any which the human organism has with its more generally recognized environments. Whichever alternative Mr. Drummond prefers, it would seem that his definition is faulty. The only meaning which it conveys to my mind, and probably to the minds of most enquiring readers, is that the Spiritual world is a term vaguely applied to what may, or may not, exist, but of which we have no certain common knowledge.

Mr. Drummond popularizes his definition by substituting 'God' for the "outermost circle of environment," and "communion" for "correspondence," and deduces the conclusion that "we can now determine accurately the spiritual relation of different sections of mankind. *Those who are in communion with God, live : those who are not, are dead.*"

The highest, noblest, purest minds, failing this correspondence, are dead. We do not blame them, says Mr. Drummond: we do not picture them as monsters. The plant is not a monster because it is dead to the voice of the bird, nor is he a monster who is dead to the voice of God. (p. 159.)

He supports this position by alluding to agnostic literature. Deaf, dumb, blind and torpid to the spiritual world the agnostic must be. It is a scientific necessity. The professed nescience of the agnostic is, in Mr. Drummond's eyes, the proof from experience 'that to be carnally minded is Death.'

I feel considerable doubt whether here, as in several other parts of his interesting book, Mr. Drummond is not unconsciously confounding scientific with emotional language. The agnostic's nescience is a very different thing from the recently converted shoemaker's knowledge of God. I do not wish to make a jest of any man's serious convictions: nor is it possible, I believe, to disprove (even were it desirable) purely religious faith. I merely suggest that this "knowledge," which often has its rise in, and is generally warmly colored by, strong emotion, is an altogether different *kind* of possession from that of which the agnostic laments his need.

But here it is most important to grasp thoroughly Mr. Drummond's own conclusions. His theory of spiritual death is a necessary product of his spiritual Biogenesis. From the analogies he uses so pointedly and freely, it is clear that there can be no spiritual correspondence apart from Spiritual Life. And he has already enunciated the uncompromising doctrine that Spiritual Life can be bestowed on man only by the direct action of God and the Son. The enormous majority of the human race must live out their lives utterly unconcerned about correspondences and developments vouchsafed to a chosen few, but in which they, the mass of mankind, cannot, under any circumstances, participate. And this is how the Christian teaching upon this subject is summed up: "We have already admitted that he who knows not God may not be a monster; we cannot say he will not be a dwarf. This precisely, and on perfectly natural principles, is what he must be. You can dwarf a soul just as you can dwarf a plant, by depriving it of full environment. Its character may betray no sign of atrophy. But its very virtue somehow

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" has the pallor of a flower that is grown in darkness, or as " the herb which has never seen the sun : no fragrance " breathes from its spirit . . . to science it is an instance " of arrested development, to Religion it presents the spectacle " of a corpse—a living Death." (p. 173.)

This is a beautiful and striking passage. Let us consider some points in it. Firstly, it seems to imply that those splendid intellects who have every ennobling quality, except Mr. Drummond's Spiritual Life, were in a position to attain that quality also. If the analogy of a dwarfed plant holds good with a dwarfed soul, there must in both be the original principle of Life. But in innumerable instances this common likeness does not exist. *Ex hypothesi*, Mr. Drummond must deny that most of the cultured agnostic and sceptic school have ever been organic at all in the spiritual sense. They have been dead all along : as hopelessly dead as the stones in waste places. A more proper comparison from his point of view would have been between the beauties of a crystal and the beauties of a flower. But it is not surprising that he should shrink, when possible, from emphasising the bald horror of his scientific religion. Secondly, it is assuming a great deal too much to say that such intellects present to *science* instances of arrested development. To Mr. Drummond's science, perhaps : but he has yet to prevail upon the larger science of the world to accept his postulate, that, if there is a Spiritual Life at all, it depends upon a correspondence with the particular and defined God of a particular and comparatively recent Revelation.

Surely we may hope, without irreverence, that men like Huxley, Darwin, Tyndall and Spencer are in as good spiritual case as the scores of illiterate frequenters of every little Bethel, whose spiritual correspondences can only be gauged by their verbal professions and living conduct.

For it is pertinent to enquire, what guarantee we have of this rare and additional correspondence. As I have before observed, we cannot rest satisfied with the mere *ipse dixit* of individuals. If it appeared that every individual who professed to have the Son, lived a life not only better in degree, but distinct in kind, from the life lived by less gifted men and women : if, in fact, we could trace a distinction not less marked than the easily traceable distinction between the organic and the inorganic, we might, and probably should very cheerfully concede to Mr. Drummond the value and significance of his analogies. But all experience is against him here. Taking the rank and file of Christians, men and women who profess to have the Son, and to be in correspondence with the eternal living Father, it may be safely argued that their conduct will

not, throughout any given century of the world's history, contrast, without exception, favorably with the conduct of a similar number of persons who are *ex hypothesi* spiritually dead. At the present day, in spite of brilliant exceptions, Christianity, counts among its followers a most disproportionate number of the uncharitable, the narrow-minded, the bigoted, and the worldly. And although Mr. Drummond would no doubt repudiate these allies with just contempt and wrath, *they* would speak his Shibboleths and profess his creeds with as fluent zeal and apparent sincerity as the purest and most typical examples of the real Christian life. The fact being that, where the criterion on so important a subject as life and death lies in the profession of faith, and is from the very nature of the case outside the province of scientific proof, classifications depending upon it are scarcely likely to command universal confidence. I have permitted myself so much latitude in quotation and commentary, that I must touch very briefly on Mr. Drummond's doctrine of Eternal Life. Summarized in one sentence it is this. Given a perfect eternal environment and an organism in perfect correspondence with it, you have Eternal Life. God is the perfect eternal environment, and the souls which he has quickened are the organisms in perfect correspondence with Him. Therefore they have Eternal Life. Of course, if we concede all the conditions and the terms, we cannot very well dispute the conclusion. The three chapters, indeed, read together, amount to an explicit affirmation of the old doctrine of predestination. God first puts his life into the souls of a few chosen people: they may correspond with the outermost segment of environment, *i.e.*, God, a privilege denied absolutely to the rest of the world; and by so doing they attain to Everlasting Life, which is not "living for ever: everlasting or eternal life is *to know*."

I cannot do more than notice, in a few words, the salient features of this long and interesting chapter.

The verdict of science has been given with something like unanimity against that 'bridging of the grave' which is an indispensable condition of eternal life. But science is too moderate and too cautious to indulge in positive denials: the most it will say is that it is *apparently* impossible that the soul and body should continue to exist separately. This is the tiny loophole: the slender permission of which Mr. Drummond promptly avails himself. "A permission to go on," says he, "is often the most that science can grant to religion." This flaw in the materialist argument secures to the spiritualist the right of speculation. But speculation in this field is unsatisfying, and Mr. Drummond almost immediately has recourse to Revelation. "It is not part of the theory of Christianity that thought, volition,

or emotion, as such, are to survive the grave" (p. 226). The doctrine of Revelation is that "he that hath the Son hath Life." This defines the correspondence which is to bridge the grave. There is no attempt here to attach immortality to the old organism. And the logical exigencies of this proposition force the Professor back upon his doctrine of Biogenesis. "As in the Natural so in the Spiritual there is a principle of life." (p. 228). Not only does the principle of Spiritual life determine the spiritual correspondence, but it is a new and divine possession. That is to say no man who hath not the Spiritual life infused into his soul can ever have Eternal Life (which is a Spiritual correspondence), nor can any man have this principle of spiritual life upon whom it has not been specially bestowed by the separate act of God. It is a new and a divine possession. It follows then at once that about 90 per cent of the human race are absolutely beyond the pale of hope so far as Eternal Life is concerned.

Considering the very arbitrary character of the hard and fast lines he has laid down, it is surprising that Mr. Drummond has felt so little compunction concerning the mass of mankind upon whom he has shut the gates of heaven: and it is not less surprising that he should claim so much for the operative efficacy of God's selection, while apparently entirely disregarding the only results by which we can presume to judge its genuineness.

I am therefore pleased to find that, in one passage at least, he seems to have realized, in a vague way, the cogency of this latter requirement. Speaking of environment, he writes: "Much more then shall we look for the influence of environment on the spiritual nature of him who has opened correspondence with God. Reaching out his eager and quickened faculties to the Spiritual world shall he not become spiritual? In vital contact with Holiness, shall he not become holy? Breathing now an atmosphere of ineffable purity, shall he miss becoming pure? Walking with God from day to day shall he fail to be taught of God?" (p. 242). To all of which impassioned questions the answer is, that certainly we anticipate these results. But, judging by the common examples of Christianity, our anticipations are very far from being fulfilled. And it is just because the consequences appear to flow so necessarily from the predicated causes, that, on observing the entire absence of these consequences, we may, perhaps, be excused doubting whether the causes are real.

Here, though with great reluctance, and a clear consciousness that my subject is far from being exhausted, I must close the book. It is evident that there is more, much more to be said: that I have within the limits of a magazine article barely

been able to sketch the outlines of many important objections, while as many more have been necessarily passed over quite unnoticed. Upon every perusal of these suggestive chapters, new arguments, new lines of criticism, new doubts present themselves with perplexing rapidity. Possibly, and in fact probably, it is the personal distaste which every independent mind must feel to a scheme of religion so narrow and deadening as this, which ought to be held accountable for much of this restless uneasiness and critical activity under the spell of Mr. Drummond's glowing periods. But if we go a little below the surface beauties : if we strip off all the gorgeous phraseology, all the rich tints it owes to Religious enthusiasm, we shall see in Mr. Drummond's scientific religion nothing but a pitiful, cold, inanimate anatomy. For this, in brief, is what his modern Christianity teaches us. The potentiality of religion is not a part of human nature. Before the coming of Christ the whole human race lived and died in the condition, spiritually, of inorganic stones : dead, hopelessly, irretrievably dead. And even since the coming of Christ, perhaps not more than one soul in every two or three millions has been quickened into life at the mere caprice (if one may use such a word in such a context) of the Omnipotent and all Loving God. The remainder of the human race, including the noblest, the bravest, the purest, the most divinely gifted ; poets, philosophers, moralists, artists ; all those lesser, but not colder, hearts, friends and kinsmen, husbands, wives, parents, children, all that we see in humanity to reverence, respect, or love, are dead in our memories, or dying before our eyes, dead and dying from hour to hour, from day to day. For them there is no future : they have not so much as the principle of Spiritual Life, nor, upon a calculation of average probabilities, will each of those upon whom our anxious love centres, ever have it. Mr. Drummond and his few selected spiritual organisms look smiling and complacent on this universal Doom. *They* have the Son, which is Eternal Life. Conduct is of no consequence to these fortunate spirits : with a creed on their lips, and a manual of salvation in their hands, they are to go on developing until they enter into an Eternal Life, which is a correspondence of the intellect with a perfect and eternal environment ! This is no caricature ; it is not even an exaggeration : it is a plain and true statement of the bare and undisguised meaning to be logically extracted from Mr. Drummond's principal dogmas. And since this is so : since in Mr. Drummond's scientific religion, which has captivated so many unscientific Christians, we find the vivifying and attractive graciousness of the church's Gospels transformed into unbending and inhuman laws—rigid bars against which despairing humanity may dash

its passionate protests in vain,—would it not be as well for those who have read and indiscriminately applauded these essays, to reconsider the situation from the point of view which I have suggested? Would they not do well to reflect that, besides the stern texts quoted by Mr. Drummond, Scripture contains other texts upon which the Church has founded a gospel something larger and more human than this? That, besides the sayings which Mr. Drummond has carefully culled to prop his theory, other words have fallen from the lips of Christ, words which through many generations have brought rest to the weary, comfort to the broken hearted, peace to the dying sinner? If Mr. Drummond's gospel be true, it is plainly as idle to talk of aspirations in the direction of Spiritual Life as to talk of stones aspiring to be trees or birds. Viewed in our light, such a creed would necessarily create a purely fatalistic mental attitude: viewed in any light it is a creed that robs the image of Christ of all its human tenderness, all its marvellous attraction, and offers to our astonished eyes a Christ no longer the compassionate Redeemer of the world, but the pillar and peculiar ornament of a Scotch Calvinistic church. It is, I believe, as impossible, as many perhaps feel it to be undesirable, to reduce the essentials of religion to scientific formulæ. During the present generation probably no author better equipped with natural talents and scientific training than Professor Drummond will attempt the task. And it is for thoughtful men and women to decide whether Mr. Drummond's attempt has, in fact, proved the splendid success which so many Christians, in the first burst of enthusiasm, felt and pronounced it to be.

F. C. O. BEAMAN.

ART. VII.—NOTES OF A HOLIDAY TRIP TO MALDAH AND BIHAR.

MY chief object in writing this article is to induce people to visit some of the many places of interest in Bengal Proper. Globe-trotters naturally only go to the great cities of the North-West, and Calcutta residents generally spend their holidays at a hill-station. Most of them do not know of the existence of places of interest in Bengal. How many, for instance, have, in travelling up the East Indian Railway line, noticed the curious old Mahomedan tower* which becomes visible on the right hand side shortly before reaching Panduah Station? This last vacation, I set off with the intention of seeing four places, Gaur and Panduah in northern Bengal, and Sasseram and Rohtas in south Bihar.

Gaur and Panduah are both situated in the district of Maldah, and are about twenty miles apart. Angrezabad, or English Bazaar, is the head-quarters of the Maldah district, and is commonly known as Maldah. It is a convenient place to visit Gaur and Panduah from, as it lies between the two, Gaur being about nine miles to the south of Maldah, and Panduah about eleven miles to the north-east. Unfortunately, it has no dak bungalow. The best route from Calcutta is by Rajmahal, though there is another way by Rampore Bauleah, whence there is a steamer to Maldah. The traveller takes the loop-line to Tin Pahar, and there changes to a branch which brings him in half an hour to Rajmahal. Formerly the crossing of the Ganges was a work of time and even danger, but now, thanks chiefly to Mr. Samuels, the Magistrate of Maldah, there is a steam ferry. The steamer crosses twice a day, and if the traveller be in a hurry, and arrive at a fortunate time, say at dawn, he can go over at once. Otherwise he may repair to the dak bungalow. The distance from Rajmahal to Maldah is 24 miles, including the river. From Manik Chuck outpost, where the high land begins on the other side, the distance is 18 miles. The traveller must do this by palki, or bullock cart, and must arrange

* This tower is much larger in circumference than the two towers or minarets in the Maldah district, and is considerably more ornamental. It has five storeys, and each of the upper four is built with convex flutes, like those of the Delhi Kutub. It surely was intended as an imitation in brick of that structure. This would agree with the tradition, that it was built by a scion of the Delhi royal family, Saifuddin, the sister's son of Firoz Shah Togluk. General Cunningham gives the height as 125 feet, but the sixth story or pinnacle was shaken down by an earthquake a few years ago, and so its height is probably now about 116 feet.

beforehand with the Magistrate of Maldah for carriage, otherwise he will find himself landed on a chur, and without the means of getting any further. Rajmahal is an interesting place, and may well occupy a few hours of the traveller's time. Its original name was Agmahal, and it became known as Rajmahal when it was made the capital of Bengal. Mahomedan writers often call it Akbarnagar, after the great Akbar. In the last century and even later, Rajmahal was full of interesting ruins, and Buchanan has a good deal to say about them in the 2nd volume of "Eastern India," pp. 67, 68. Most of them have now disappeared. Only a small portion of the Sangi Dalan, or Stone Palace, of Shah Sujah now remains.* It occupies a fine position on the banks of the river, and has some basalt pillars. A lofty mosque, which was perhaps built by Futteh Jung Khan, has been converted into the charitable dispensary—a change only to be regretted, because it has necessitated the partitioning of the interior. The subdivisional Court-house is justly praised in Murray's hand-book. It is a handsome building, and has a splendid site on the high bank of the Ganges. I did not see the buildings called the Hadaf, and which are said to have been Man Singh's residence. They are about four miles from Rajmahal, and the road is bad. It appears that some of the buildings there have inscriptions on them, and it is to be hoped that somebody will take rubbings of them, if the Archæological department has not done so already.† Six miles south of Rajmahal is Udhwa, or Udhinala, where Mir Qasim's troops were defeated by Major Adams in August 1763. There are some stone quarries there, and the resident manager has a collection of guns and shells gathered from the field of battle. Buchanan tells us, that Miran, the son of Mir Jaffar, was buried in Rajmahal, after he was killed by lightning in Bettiah.‡ It was to Rajmahal that Sirajuddaulah was brought after his capture, and tradition points out the place where he was caught. It is the village of Shahpur, on the opposite side of the river near Barail, and on the east of the Kalindri. It is not clear why Sirajuddaulah went there, unless he crossed over in order to avoid Rajmahal, where Mir. Jaffir's brother, Mir Daud, was governor. He may, however, have been obliged, on account of the strength of the current (it was the rainy season), to leave the main stream and go up the Kosi. Shahpur lies N. E. from Rajmahal and a long way from it, and one might say, that if Sirajuddaulah went there and stayed long

* There is a beautiful basalt pillar from Rajmahal in the Indian Museum.

† Perhaps they are those given by Blochmann, J.A.S.B., XLIV, 301.

‡ The Seir Mutakherin says, that the body was brought down in a boat, apparently in order to be buried at Murshidabad, but it became so offensive that they had to land and bury it at Rajmahal.

enough for news to be sent across to Rajmahal, and for the fetching of troops, he deserved to be caught. He was on his way to join Law, who was marching down from Bhagulpore, but neither of them had the energy of Coote. Law halted at Teliagarhi Pass, and Sirajuddaulah at Shahpur. Orme says that, if Law had only marched twenty miles further, he would probably have saved Sirajuddaulah. Orme's knowledge, however, was not exact, for he writes of Sirajuddaulah's being arrested in a deserted garden at Rajmahal. Clive said much the same thing. It is the *Seir Mutakherin* which mentions that Sirajuddaulah was caught on the Maldah side of the river. Shahpur probably owes its name to Shah Dana, the faqir who is said to have betrayed Sirajuddaulah. His tomb and shrine are still in existence at Shahpur. Before I leave this subject, I would recall to my readers' memories the energy and determination of Coote (afterwards Sir Eyre Coote), who marched in the month of July from Rajmahal to Patna, a distance of 201 miles, in eleven days and a half, and all but caught M. Law. I would also put in a word for the unfortunate Sirajuddaulah. He was, after all, only a boy, and a boy who had been spoilt by a doting grandsire. It is generally alleged that he was a habitual drunkard, and Macaulay speaks of his sleeping off his debauch on the morning after the Black Hole. But Scrafton, who knew Sirajuddaulah well, and had no liking for him, tells us (letter II, p. 50) that Sirajuddaulah promised his grandfather, when the latter was on his deathbed, that he would never again touch intoxicating liquor, and that he strictly observed his promise.

English Bazaar, or Maldah proper, is situated on the right bank of the Mahananda (the Mahanadi which we meet beyond Siliguri). It is an old English settlement, though Maldah as a district is of recent creation. It was visited by Hedges, who calls it Englesavad, in May 1683. (Diary I, 87). In 1771 Mr. Thomas Henchman was Commercial Resident and erected a fort, which still exists, and in which the Magistrate's cutcherry is placed. Mr. Henchman afterwards took part in establishing the Kidderpur Orphanage, and his portrait by Chinnery, dated 1786, now hangs in Kidderpore House.

Until recent times, there was a fine house near Maldah, called Singhitollah. This was an Indigo Factory, and in 1787, it was under the charge of George Udny, so well known for his kindness to the early Baptist Missionaries. Udny was also a patron of Persian literature, and Gholam Hoosein, the author of the *Riyaz-us-Salatin*,* was his dâk Munshi, and

* The Riyaz is now being published by the Asiatic Society.

wrote his history at Udny's* request. I am glad to say that a kind of spiritual descendant of Gholam Hoosein, that is, Munshi Elahi Bux, the pupil of Gholam Hoosein's pupil, has made a study of Gaur and its history, and that there is a likelihood of his work being published by the Asiatic Society. The neighbourhood of Maldah is very fertile. Nowhere have I seen finer trees. The mango trees in the station are magnificent, and so are the tamarind trees and the pipals. It is interesting to notice the care taken of the mango gardens, the platforms supporting the grafts, &c. ; the mulberry cultivation is also a very pretty one. The environs are remarkable for the causeways made by the former kings of Gaur ; one very fine one, which was probably made by Gyassuddin, is to be seen on the Rajmahal road about a mile out from Maldah. A place near this, known as the Baghbari, is pointed out as the site of Ballal Sen's palace, and is so marked in the map in Ravenshaw's Gaur. But according to the local historian, the old Hindu city lies further to the north, near the village of Katwali, two or three miles west of old Maldah. Perhaps both identifications are right, Adisur's palace having been at Katwali and Ballal Sen, his successor's, at Baghbari. This is Buchanan's account (III, 72).

The first place I visited was old Maldah. This never was an English settlement, but in Hedges' time, the Dutch had a settlement there. (I, 89) Old Maldah stands on the Mahananda, opposite its confluence with the Kalindri, and not *at* the confluence, as stated in the Statistical Account. It contains some interesting ruins, especially a mosque with a fine doorway of black basalt, built in 1566, and a Sarai. Maldah was evidently the port of Panduah, and on the opposite side, at the place called Nima Sarai, there stands a curious tower with an inside staircase. It is of brick, but is stuck over with stone projections resembling elephant tusks or antelopes' horns. They were probably inserted only for ornament, and may remind us of the antelope horns which Akbar placed on his mileposts on the road to Ajmir. I have seen an ornamentation like this on a gateway at Lucknow. One ingenious suggestion made was, that the projections were intended for pigeons to rest upon ! The tower has partly fallen down. It was probably a watch tower, and not a minaret, for there is no mosque near at hand. Perhaps, when the tower was entire, the Sangidalan at Rajmahal could be seen from it, but the tower is probably a good deal the older of the two.

* Udny died in Calcutta on 1830 at the age of 70. See Bengal Obituary, p. 43.

I paid two visits to Gaur.* On the first occasion, I went to Sadulapur, and saw on the way the famous Sagar Dighi. It is a magnificent sheet of water, nearly a mile in length, but it is difficult to get a complete view of it, for its banks are covered with jungle. The ghats, or bathing stairs have all disappeared. It is worth noting that a village on the east bank is called Kanchanshahar. Possibly, this has a connection with Raja Káns, or Káns. To the N. W. of the tank there are the tomb of Makhdum Shah and the Jhanjhania mosque. The former has an endowment, but the roof has been allowed to fall in, and two or three inscriptions are lying about in the enclosure. There is a curious discrepancy about the name of the mosque. Ravenshaw calls it the Jan Jan Miyan mosque, and says it was built by a lady of that name. But it is hardly a woman's name, and Munshi Elahi Baksh assures me that the inscription says nothing about a lady, and that the mosque was built by one of the kings in 1534. He says that it is locally called the Jhanjhania mosque, *i. e.*, the jingling mosque, because the floor emits a tinkling sound when struck. People think, on this account, that there is treasure buried in the mosque, and it is said that the inscription contains the phrase Bait-ul-mal, or treasury. It is worth noting, that Colonel Franklin's transcript of the inscription does not contain any reference to the mosque having been built by a lady. It is probable, however, that the inscription in Ravenshaw's book is right, for it is the reading of Mr. Blochmann, J.A.S.B., XLI, 339.

The Bhagirathi at Sadulapur, where the Hindoos bathe, and where they burn their dead, is a narrow stream, and nearly dry in the hot weather. It is the old bed of the Ganges, and so is reverenced by the people in the same way as Tolly's Nallah is regarded as the Adhi Ganga. While in this neighbourhood, I got some particulars about Tandah, or Tarrah. The Statistical Account speaks of its site as not being accurately known. There seems, however, to be no doubt of its location, though it was washed away by the Pagla about twenty years ago. It lay west of the Bhagirathi. Major Rennel mentions it in his Memoir, pp. 55 and 56, and says, that it is situated very near to Gaur, and on the road leading from it to Rajmahal. He adds that little remains of it except the rampart, and that it is sometimes called Khawaspur Tanda.† He also marks it in his Atlas, Plate XV, under the

* Humayun changed the name of the city to Jannatabad, because Gor means a grave in Persian.

† Khaspur Tanda is mentioned in the Ain I, 348, as a dependency of Jaupur. Tanda is also called Oodnir at p. 394 of the same work. Probably Khawaspur is the right name, and is derived from Khawas Khan, a famous Afghan Chief, *vide* Elliot, IV, 528.

name of Tarrah, a little S. W. of Gaur. Natives know the place by the name of Sayidpúr Tarrah. Probably the difficulty that some have felt in getting information about the place arose from their asking for Tanda. The word is locally pronounced Tarrah, just as Panduah is locally pronounced Paruah. My informant told me that Tarrah was once a very great place, and had 384 *palki-nishins* (carriage people) living in it. Sulaiman Kararaní made it his capital, and it was in Tanda that the troops mutinied, and killed Muzaffar Khan in Akbar's time.

On my second visit to Gaur, I entered from the north-east. Nothing struck me more on entering the entrenchment than the extent to which the interior was cultivated. The old accounts about the desolation of Gaur, and its being the abode only of wild beasts are no longer applicable. I saw no tigers, pythons, or pelicans, but only numbers of ryots ploughing their lands. The first noteworthy place that we came to was the Piyasbari tank. This is a large and beautiful tank, and its banks have all been cleared of jungle by the Scithals. Buchanan (III. 77) speaks of the tank as containing very bad brackish water, but Colonel Franklin described the water as excellent, and I can testify from personal experience, that this is correct. Abul Fazl (Ain Akbari I, 390) tells a story about there being a building here, and a *hawz*, or reservoir, of which the water was so noxious, that criminals were made to drink it, and so put to death. But if by the word *hawz* Abul Fazl meant the Piyasbari tank, he must have been much deceived. If criminals died there at all, it must have been from their not being allowed to drink the Piyasbari water, and not from their drinking it. From Piyasbari I went by the site of the Ramkhel Fair to the Golden Mosque. I of course have no intention of giving a full description of Gaur. I shall only note what I have not seen mentioned elsewhere. Those who wish to know all about Gaur must study Creighton, Ravenshaw, and the Report of the Archæological Survey, Vol. XV. I ascended the Pir Asa Minar, and, as my friend Mr. Samuells had told me, I saw the name H. Creighton cut on a brick and the dates 1786-90. The inscription is near the top of the stair, and on the right hand side. Poor Creighton deserved to have his name here. He seems to have lived in Gaur as manager of the Goamalty Indigo Factory for about twenty years. He died in 1807, and is buried at Berhampore.* I saw the Kadam Rasul mosque, but unfortunately the impression of the Prophet's foot was

*Mr. Westmacott, J.A.S.B., Vol. 43, p. 299, says that three of Creighton's children are buried at Goamalty under the dates 1800 and

stolen some 2 or 3 years ago, and has not yet been recovered. This is the second or third time that it has been carried away. Perhaps, some Wahabi fanatic has done this. As has been pointed out by Mr. Blochmann, the inscription on this mosque is published in Glazier's report on Rungpore. In the same book, p. 107, Appendix A, will be found an account of Gaur generally, as it appeared in the last century. A friend has pointed out to me that there is another account, a century earlier, by Hedges in his diary (recently published by the Hakluyt Society) p. 89.—“ May 16th (1683) —I went to see the famous ruins of a great city and palace of Gaur. 'Tis about 12 miles distant from the English Factory (English Bazaar) towards Qasimbazaar. We set out at 5 A.M. and got to the place at 8-15. We spent 3½ hours in seeing the ruins, especially of the palace, which has been (as appears by the gates of it yet standing) in my judgment, considerably bigger and more beautiful than the Grand Signior's Seraglio at Constantinople, or any other palace that I have seen in Europe. The building was chiefly of brick; the arches of the gates and many other places were of black marble, and other black hard stones to supply the want of it, which is exceeding rare

1802. I am indebted to Mr. Page, the Judge of Murshidabad, for the following inscription:—

“ SACRED
To the Memory of
HENRY CREIGHTON, ESQ.,
of Goamalty.
Ob. 2nd of October 1807,
Æt : 44 years.

In the Spirit of Christian love
he was the first institutor of native schools
for instructing the children of the poor
in their own languages

* as a means of diffusing among them useful tracts;
and thereby an extensive district
was comparatively enlightened and civilized
and prepared for advancement to higher degrees
of moral instruction, and European improvement.

Ps. 37. 37.

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end
of that man is peace.”

Nothing is said here about Creighton's work on Gaur. It was not published in England till some years after his death. Buchanan, III, 71 speaks of an earlier publication in Calcutta by Moffat, but I have never seen this. The English edition seems to have been published by Mr. Charles Wilkins, (Stewart, 95 note.) Henry Martyn visited Goamalti in 1806 and baptised one of Creighton's children. He mentions a school, but it is characteristic of him that he does not say a word about Gaur.

* Qy. Was?

and difficult to procure in this kingdom, there being not so much as one stone so big as a man's fist to be seen in this country nearer than Rajamahal. At 12 o'clock we repaired to a garden within a mile of the ruins, where we reposed ourselves and servants till 5 at night, and then returned to the Factory extremely well satisfied with our diversion. We were in all, besides myself and my wife, Mr. Samuel Hervy, Mr. Joseph Dodd, Mr. William Johnson, my nephew Robert Hedges, Mr. William Rushworth, and Mr. William Jolland." Probably this is the first time that Gaur was visited by an English lady. Mrs. Hedges was a Miss Susannah Vanacker, of Erith in Kent. She did not long survive the Gaur expedition, for she died in child-bed at Hooghly on 6th July 1683. Her husband brought home her bones, as well as those of her infant son "*sumptu modico, affectu autem magno*" and buried them at Stratton St. Margaret's in Wiltshire in 1687. On his way to Maldah, Hedges passed a place called Buglagotte, where a great battle was fought between Shah Suja and the troops of Aurangzib. This may be Bholahát,* but if so, the account does not agree with Stewart, who says, p. 271, that the great and final battle between Suja and Mir Jumla was fought near Tanda (A. D. 1660). If Hedges came by Tanda, he can hardly have come by the Mahananda, or reached Maldah by boat.

I think that what I admired most in Gaur, was the Bais Gazi, or twenty-two yards high wall. It really is only forty-two feet high, but it looks very imposing, and there were beautiful flowers growing in the crevices. Inside of it, I found ryots ploughing in what must have been the very arcana of the palace. On this side the wall has recesses, or alcoves, as if for lamps. The whole place was covered with broken bricks, with potsherds, bits of china, &c. A tank was pointed out to me as the Mint Tank, and a mosque near it was called the Khazanchi's mosque. This is a different Mint tank from that mentioned in Ravenshaw, p. 39.

The fine Kotwali gate at the South end has partially fallen down. The Lattan mosque is rather a melancholy object. It was meant to look gay and bright, but is now taken possession of by bats, and is a good deal dilapidated. Perhaps its proper name is Nattan mosque, for it was probably built by a dancing girl, or nattan.

Now that Gaur has been cleared of jungle, and that more visitors are likely to visit the ruins, it is to be hoped that Government will take steps to preserve the buildings from further injury. A custodian and guide should be appointed,

* More probably Boglamáli opposite Roanpur.

and a rest house, or dâk bungalow, should be constructed. Gaur has suffered terribly from the hand of the spoiler. In later Mahomedan times, as we learn from the 5th Report, p. 285, not only did the Nawabs of Murshidabad take away bricks from Gaur, but they charged the zamindars with the cost of the carriage ; the abwâb kimat khisht Gaur (price of the bricks of Gaur) amounted, according to Grant's Analysis, to Rs. 8,000 a year. But perhaps the Calcutta undertakers were even more destructive. Buchanan talks feelingly of their "fangs." * Panduah was the next place I visited. The ruins there are finer than those at Gaur, and, curious to say, they are a good deal older. There does not seem to be any building or inscription now in Gaur, which is not about a hundred and fifty years later than the Adinah Mosque at Panduah. † There is, however, an inscription in the Indian Museum which came from Gaur, and is as early as 1235 (Archæological Survey, XV, 45). The route to Panduah from English Bazaar lies through Nima Sarai, and old Maldah. Visitors will probably go on in the first instance to the Adinah Mosque, which is two miles beyond the other buildings. This immense mosque is now fully visible. The Archæological Department has cleared away the jungle from the ruins, and the Sonthals have cleared the surrounding country, so that things are very different from what they were when Ravenshaw took his photographs. He writes at p. 44, "The whole place is now deserted, and the public road passes through a country even more impracticable than Gaur. The dense forest on both sides is so infested with tigers, that single travellers never venture on the road at night." And he adds that, though 200 men were employed to clear the jungle, he could not get a general view of the mosque. Now, however, there is nothing to obstruct the view. The long line of building stands fully exposed only a few yards from the public road. It is, however, so much dilapidated that its appearance has not a fine effect. ‡ It is not till we enter and see the beautiful carving and the pillars of the Badshah ka Takht, that we begin to admire. Ravenshaw's photographs give a good idea of the beauty of the prayer-niche, &c. But there is one doorway on the outside which he has not noticed, in the carving of which the sinuous line of

* General Stuart's, commonly called Hindu Stuart, tomb in Park Street cemetery, is adorned with many Hindu figures. Can these have come from Gaur ?

† Perhaps the oldest building now in Gaur is the Pir Asa tower, which seems to have been built about 1494, by an Abyssinian king.

‡ General Cunningham speaks very disrespectfully of this mosque, and says, it is little better than a gigantic barn. Perhaps it looked better when the jungle made "old bareness picturesque."

a snake's back has been very well imitated. The mosque was built by Sikandar Shah. There is an inscription over a door on the west side which commemorates the fact, and gives the date. It is beautifully cut, and, for a Tughra inscription, is remarkably legible. It is also near the ground, and it is well placed for being read. Yet there has been great discrepancy in the reading of the date. Buchanan, II, 653 and 617, gives the date 707, and this undoubtedly seems to be what is written on the stone; but then this date is irreconcilable with the chronology of Sikandar's reign. 707 Hijra corresponds to 1308, and from coins, &c., it appears that Sikandar did not begin to reign till about fifty years later. Gholam Hoosain, in the Riyaz-us-Salatin, gives 766 as the date, and Stewart, who generally follows him, gives 763. Munshi Elahi Baksh reads the date as 776, and Mr. Blochmann reads it as 770. The final six in two of these readings is obtained by making the 6 of the inscription refer to the year, and not to the month (Rajab), as Mr. Blochmann has done. His 770 may be correct, but it is certain that in the original, the Arabic numeral is seven, and not seventy. This may be seen by referring to the facsimile at Plate 45. No. 1, in Ravenshaw, which shows that the *nun*, or final *n*, of *suba'in* does not exist, though it appears in the inscription as copied at p. 62. Mr. Blochmann suggested to Munshi Elahi Baksh, that the *nun* might have been omitted by the stone cutter for want of space, but in fact there was no want of room. Or it may be one of the instances of the grammatical mistakes which, according to Mr. Blochmann, abound in the Bengal Arabic inscriptions. He says, that among other mistakes, the inscriptions often contain wrong constructions of the Arabic numerals.*

It is stated in Fergusson's History of Architecture, that the dimensions of the Adinah Mosque are exactly similar to those of the mosque at Damascus, but the measurements he gives show that they are not identical in size, and that there is no reason to suppose that one is copied from the other. There is also an Adinah (Friday) mosque at Jaunpur. †

* The chronology of Sikandar's reign is not settled yet; he probably reigned many years, for he had 17 sons by one wife. He was killed at Gawalpara in the Dacca district, fighting with his son Gyassuddin, and according to local tradition, he is buried there, and not in the Adinah Mosque, where however his tomb exists.

† The mosque at Panduah in Hooghly (west of the old tower) is externally very like the Adinah Mosque of Sikandar Shah, but is less than half as long. In a note to Ravenshaw's Gaur, p. 66, Colonel Franklin is quoted as describing a singular ornament like a funereal urn, of an antique fashion, under the pulpit of the Adinah. I did not see this, and perhaps the stone has been removed, but it is remarkable that two funereal urns are sculptured in granite on the door of the building at Panduah in Hooghly,

About a mile to the eastward there are the ruins of Sataisghar* which is said to have been Sikandar's palace. Sataisghar would mean 27 houses or rooms, but according to some, the name is Sathghar, or Sathgharra, which might mean the sixty houses or rooms. The name seems to resemble the Chattishgarh of the Central Provinces. Ravenshaw speaks of Sataisghar as being in the heart of a forest, but now the place is cleared and cultivated. Field after field is covered with bricks and other debris. There is a large and beautiful tank here, which goes by the name of the Nasisa dighi (perhaps Nasir Shah, who reigned in the beginning of the 16th century).† At the north end of the tank there are a number of arches, &c., which are apparently the remains of a bath. I also saw a large and old well, like that at Mahasthan in the Bogra district, and I found a stone with a Hindu figure, a dwarfal, or door-keeper, carved on it. Coming back to Panduah, we find the so-called Eklakhi Mosque. This is really a tomb, and probably contains the graves of Jalalluddin and his wife and son. Ravenshaw calls it the tomb of Sultan Gyassuddin, but Gyassuddin's tomb is at Sunargaoon, as Dr. Wise's paper (J.A.S.B., XLIII) shows § Gholam Hoosein says that it is Jalalludin's tomb. The dome is large and handsome, but perhaps two such domes might be placed under the immense one at Sasseram. Jalalluddin was originally a Hindu, and was the son of Raja Káns, who is by far the most interesting figure of those old times. Unfortunately we have very few details of Raja Kans. Even his

which the people there called the Singh darwaza, and which they said was part of the Pandab Rajah's palace. This surely shows a connection between the two places, and may it not be the case, as I was told on the spot, that the Panduah in Hooghly is the older of the two? So far as I know, the inscription in the Tughra character over the door in the wall surrounding Saifuddin's tomb, has not been copied or translated. It is at present covered with whitewash. Blochmann, Proceedings A.S.B. for 1870, p 122, and J.A.S.B., XXXIX, 302, does not mention it; and the inscription which General Cunningham gives as being from the tomb, Archaeological Survey, xv, 125, is that inside the mosque, west of Makhduim Nur's tomb, and not from Saifuddin's tomb, or Astanah. See Blochmann's J.A.S.B. XXXIX. 302. I may note here that there are some curious iron bars in the Hooghly Panduah, and that two of them are in position and are placed under the lintels in the Singh darwaza.

* Buchanan writes Satasghar, or the 60 towers, but Satas does not mean 60, and seems a corruption of Satais (27).

† Or he may be the Nasir Shah, who reigned from 1426-57 and built the fortifications round Gaur.

‡ Gyassuddin appears to have been a very active-minded prince. He corresponded with Hafiz, and sent an embassy to China. General Cunningham has pointed out from the Chinese annals translated by Pauthier, that he probably reigned some years later than the period mentioned by Mahomedan historians. See Pauthier's Examen, Paris, 1840.

name has not been ascertained. According to one account it is Káns, according to another, Kons, according to Stewart it is Kanis; according to Buchanan (II. 618) and Mr. Westmacott, his real name is Ganes; and according to an old book which Munshi Elahi Baksh showed me, and which was called Sabat Kulsi, or Babat Kulsi, the name was Kánsí Rai. But whatever his name, it is certain that he must have been an able and masterful man to have broken the power of the Mahomedans, and to have ruled over them for several years. He reminds one of the exploits of Hemu in the time of Humayun and Akbar. The Riyaz speaks badly of him, but this is probably only Mahomedan prejudice. He was originally zemindar of Bhituriah (or Bathuriah), which is entered in Grant's Analysis as a division of Ghoraghát; it also appears in Rennel's Atlas. It is very strange that no Hindu writer has told us anything about this prince, who surely deserved to be remembered by the Hindus.* South from Gaur there is a village called Kánsát, which possibly may be named after him. Raja Kans' son became a Mahomedan, and naturally he was a very bigoted one and a persecutor.

The Sona Masjid has now been cleared of jungle, and is to my thinking a very handsome mosque. It has the peculiarity of being chiefly made of granite; there seems to be no basalt in it. The granite is not all of the same kind. A red variety is used for at least one pillar, and it would be interesting to know where it came from. At the south entrance to Panduah, on the east side of the road, we have the Baishhazari, or 22,000 bighas endowment of Makhdum Shah. The buildings are a little way off the road, and are remarkable for a beautiful window. It is of black stones (basalt?) and perforated in squares. The existence of this window was, I believe, first noticed by Mrs. Colquhoun Grant. It lights the chilla, or cell, of a Mahomedan saint.

Before leaving the subject of Gaur and Panduah, I may notice that Colonel Franklin visited Gaur in 1810 and made drawings of the ruins, &c. These are, in the India Office at home, and it is a great pity that they have not yet been published. Mr. Grote states that Franklin was Regulating Officer at Bhaugulpore in 1810. This post was the charge of the military pensioners, for, in the Bhaugulpore graveyard there is a monument to a Colonel Hutchinson who was "for

* Perhaps the Jaunpúr Chronicle referred to in an article in this Review, Vol. XLI, p. 114, might throw some light on Raja Káns, for Ibrahim Sharki made war upon him. Mr. Westmacott's article is in Vol. LV. of this Review, p. 205. Mr. Blochmann supposes that Káns ruled in the name of Bayazid Shah. He also thinks that the name of the Rajshahye district refers to him. He was the Rajah who was a Sháh.

many years Regulating Officer of the invalid Jaghirdar institution ; his constitution being destroyed by unwearied exertions for the benefit and prosperity of the old soldiers and their families, he departed this life on the 18th May 1801, in the 50th year of his age, sincerely regretted." Franklin was at Bhaugulpore when Bishop Heber visited that station, and the good Bishop describes him as a very agreeable and communicative old man. He is the biographer of George Thomas. In 1827 he was in London, and published there a book on the Jains and Buddhists.

Gaur and Panduah are certainly somewhat melancholy and depressing places.

Men are we, and must grieve when even the Shade
Of that which once was great, is passed away.

The ruins have been ruthlessly dealt with, and are now more interesting for their antiquity, and on historical grounds, than for their beauty. Yet the dying out of the Mahomedan kings of Bengal does not seem to be a matter for regret. Many of them were cruel tyrants, and were more really the wild beasts of Gaur than were the tigers and alligators of later times. It is doubtful if in its palmiest days Gaur was ever so beautiful as it now is in the cold season. The waters of the Sagor Dighi are blue and sparkling as ever, and in winter the country is gay with mustard flowers, and redolent of their fragrance. Later on, the place becomes gorgeous with the blood-red blossoms of the cotton tree.

From Maldah I went to Colgong, Bhaugulpore and Monghyr. Travellers from Calcutta miss a great deal by using only the Chord Line. The Loop Line follows the course of the Ganges, and nearly every station possesses something interesting or beautiful. When I was at Bhaugulpore and had seen the public garden with its gigantic baobab tree, Cleveland's house, &c., I asked my driver what else there was to visit. The "Cintral Jail" was what he suggested, but the dâk bungalow Khansamah had the happier thought of the subterranean passages at Mayaganj. They are certainly very remarkable, and General Cunningham tells us that he visited Bhaugulpore purposely to see them. Of modern improvements what pleased me most was the water taps by the side of the streets. Bhaugulpore and Dacca are now far ahead of Patna in the matter of water-supply. In the graveyard at Bhaugulpore there is a monument to a Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Dow, who was, I presume, the hisorian, or rather translator from Ferishta. The date on the tomb is 31st July 1779.

Monghyr is a charming residence, and it is perhaps strange that it is so little visited. Warren Hastings came to Monghyr,

and in one of his letters he speaks of the delightful change in the atmosphere from that of Bengal. Ellis of Patna complained against Mir Qasim for harbouring deserters ; but Hastings declined to look for them, saying that he would as soon hope to find a stray pebble in the surrounding mountains as a deserter in a place like Monghyr—a remark which any one who knows the size of the fort would readily endorse.

Few things are more beautiful or impressive than to sit in a moonlight night on one of the bastions and listen to the Ganges lapping against the foot of the rampart. The great river still flows quietly on, careless whether she be crowded with shipping, or is, as she has now become, an almost deserted highway. But how many stirring events have taken place at this promontory since the day when Sita landed at the Kashtaharani Ghat close by, and went to meet her doom at Sitakund ! Hindus, Buddhists, Mahomedans, and Christians have successively come here, and erected their places of worship, and now all have more or less passed away. It was here that Todar Mall contended with the rebels against Akbar. It was here that Ellis and his companions were brought after the disaster at Manjhi, and before they were taken back to Patna to be massacred. It was from a bastion of the fort, it is said,* that the Set and his faithful servant were flung into the river. It was from the Patna Gate that Mir Qasim's wife and a huge train of followers set out for Rohtas when the news came of the defeat at Gheriah. Sitakund is four miles off. Nothing can destroy the beauty of the legend of Sita, nor can the troops of beggar Brahmans altogether vulgarise Sitakund, or make it cease to be a wonderful sight. The vigorous uprush of the hot spring, and the large and beautiful pool of limpid water, must always be a joy to look at. At Pir Pabar, near this, there is a tomb erected by a Colonel Beckett to his Cashmerian wife, which has the uncommon and not unaffected inscription, " Be still, she sleeps. "

In the old Monghyr graveyard there is a monument to a Captain John Williams, who, I suppose, was the author of the history of the native infantry. He is described as having commanded the Invalid Battalion of the garrison for many

* The Seir says that the Sets were killed at Barh, and this I believe to be correct, but Haji Mustapha, the translator, says, II. 281, note, that "out of 10,000 boatmen that pass every year by a certain tower of the castle of Monghyr, there is not a man but will point it out as the spot where the two Jagat Seths were drowned, nor is there an old woman of Monghyr but will report the speech of the heroical Chuni to his master's executioners." Chuni was the Sets' servant and insisted on being drowned with them, (see the same volume, p. 268, note). At all events it would appear that the unfortunate Ram Narain, the Governor of Patna, was drowned in the Ganges.

years, and as having died on board the Hon'ble E. I. Company's ship *Northumberland*, near the Western Islands, on 20th June 1809, aged 68. There is also the tomb of a Miss Margaret Tylter, who seems to have been the daughter of the Dr. Tylter, who found the now remarkable statues now standing in the Indian Museum. It was probably this lady who presented a number of specimens of handicrafts to the Asiatic Society.

From Monghyr I went on to Arrah. In the public garden here there is a statue of Ban Asur, which was removed from the village of Masar some years ago. It is described and figured in Buchanan I, 414. I arrived at Arrah this time at 2 A.M., and found that there was no steamer going to Dehri that day. A għarriwan relieved me of embarrassment by offering to drive me to Sasseram with one pair of horses. I thought the distance too great for one pair, for the distance is 25 coss or 62 miles (the coss is more than two miles), but the man said that he had often taken an Arrah pleader. We therefore started at 2-30 A. M., and the driver was even better than his word, for he said he would convey me by 6 P. M., and he really did so by 2-30.* On the same evening Mr. Mackertich, the subdivisional officer, kindly took me to Sher Shah's tomb, and then to that of his son Islam. Sher Shah's tomb is a great and imposing building. The approach to it has lately been improved by the municipality, and the tank in which the mausoleum stands is now filled with beautiful water from the canal. The place is therefore seen to much more advantage than in Buchanan's time, when the tank was "very dirty," or when it was visited by Bhola Nath Chander. Sher Shah's tomb has always been a famous object, and in the last century, Law, the Collector of Behar, and known locally as Hoshiyar Jung, recorded his admiration in some rather stilted lines which were published in the 'Asiatic Miscellany.' In the evening I left Sasseram by palki. I did not know then that it could boast of an Asoka inscription. It is in the Chandan Shahid hill, and is described by Cunningham in the *Corpus Inscript. Ind.*, and by Senart. Rohtas is some 26 miles from Sasseram. We reached Akbarpore, at its foot, at dawn, and I immediately went up the hill. The road up reminds one of that to Senchal from Jore Bungalow. It is a bit of a climb, but the longest walk is after one has reached the plateau. Man Singh's palace is the place chiefly visited, but, except for the elephants sculptured at the gate (hence called the *Hathipol*), it did not interest me much. A waterfall tumbling over a lofty cliff was much more beautiful, and the old temple called Rohitashan is far more worth seeing

* After thirty hours' halt, the same horses brought me back to Arrah in twelve hours.

than the palace. The temple stands on a pinnacle of the Rohtas hill, and commands a magnificent view of the valleys of the Sone and Koel and of the junction of the two rivers. Looking at the site of this temple, one would gladly believe that it was originally dedicated to the sun, and that the headless bull and the lingam lying in front are subsequent additions. Rohtas, it is said, is really Rohitaswa, or he whose horses are red, and so might be a name of the sun. The temple is approached by a magnificent stair, made of eighty-two stone steps. The hills to the south and east were pointed out to me as thoses of Lantern-gunge (Daltongunge)—so soon do names get corrupted. On the other side of Rohtas there is a glen, called the Kauriyari, about which a romantic story is told. The princess of Rohtas, it is said, was a lady so pure and ethereal, that every morning she stood upon the floating leaf of a lotus, and poured water over her head from a pot that had not been touched by fire. One morning, however, she found herself sinking. Much alarmed, she went and asked her husband what he had done to make her to be no longer upborne by her virtue. He replied that he had done nothing wrong ; he had merely resolved to have a census of his people, and so had bidden each man bring a cowri and place it in a heap. But his subjects, misunderstanding his object, had each brought a cowri made of gold. He showed the heap to the princess who at once ordered it to be thrown into the glen. Hence the name. Perhaps this is the eastern version of the story of lady Godiva. There is an interesting article, called *Chronicles of Rohtas*, in the number of this Review for April 1878, and in it a baiga or hillman is described as picking up two pebbles from an adjacent heap and throwing them down into a dark glen as a homage to the spirits. Probably this is the Kauriyari. The author of this article was, I believe, Mr. Reade, an indigo-planter, who recently died at Sasseram. He refers in it to a Mr. Campbell, who was killed by a tiger at Rohtas in May 1873, and who now sleeps at the foot of the cliffs. Another victim to tiger-hunting, Mr. Langden of Nowadi, lies in the neighbouring district of Gya. It was also near Rohtas that Mr. Bingham, of Mutiny fame, was accidentally shot. Altogether the fortress has gloomy memories associated with it. It was taken from the Hindus by a foul stratagem on the part of Sher Shah. About forty years later it was taken by Akbar's General, Shahbaz Khan. Koer Singh took refuge here for a few days, but there seems no foundation for the statement in the "Travels of a Hindu," that Koer Singh's brother defended Rohtas for three months against the British troops. The local report is that no stand was made here, and that Koer Singh went, after three days, to Shergarh. Rohtas is curiously con-

nected with the trial of Nanda Kumar. When he was accused of forging Bolaqi Dass' seal, a witness for the defence produced a paper containing a similar impression, which he said he got from Bolaqi. Impey and the jury seem to have considered this as an undoubted forgery, and Sir James Stephen is of the same opinion. The reason for this idea was, that it was thought impossible that Mir Qasim (Bolaqi's master) could have had anything to do with Rohtas, or with treasure, at the time mentioned in the paper. It appears, however, that all this was a mistake. Sir James Stephen, indeed, is so ill acquainted with Behar that he does not know that Buxar is in it, and speaks of Mir Qasim's leaving Behar in May, 1764, and never returning to it. In fact, Mir Qasim had his wife, and apparently his treasure also, in Rohtas till the battle of Buxar, in October, 1764, and even later.

One memory which clings to Rohtas is not gloomy. It is that of Charles Davies who lived for many years at the foot of the mountain, and held it in farm from Government. He was a great student, and though he had never been out of India, was versed in the topography of London. He is described by the admiring natives as a faqir, or dervish, who spent his time in meditation and reading, and his money in charity. He died in his bungalow at Akbarpore, at a good old age, and now lies in the compound under a nim tree. His last prayer, was that no tombstone should be erected over him ; so he sleeps under the bare earth.

H. BEVERIDGE.

THE NEO-ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN LITERATURE: SECTION III.

THE NEO-ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN BENGALI LITERATURE.

IN this section we propose to give a critical and descriptive sketch of the neo-romantic literature of Bengal. It is not here necessary to do more than mention the representative, or typical, works of the previous stages, and note the general course of development, both in poetic style and conception, prior to the neo-romantic stage.

Bengali Poetry, with its reeking soil, its rank and incontinent luxuriance, its slumbrous jungly overgrowths, presents a tropic scene of unique interest, for here pass in review before our eyes, as "in Banquo's glass," the various stages of poetic art, in pale phantom-like succession.

First, the indigenous Orientalism of the poems of Kasidasa, Krittibasa and Bharata Chandra, working up traditional material in the native mould and fashion. As products of art, they bear the same relation to the later classical Epos of Michael Madhu Sudana Dutt and Hema Chandra Banerji, whose style of workmanship is strictly occidental, however they may derive their materials, as all great poets must, from the national storehouse, that Indian sculpture and painting, as exhibited in the rock caves, and Indian architecture of the rock-cut Chaityas and Viharas, or of the Hindu temples of Southern India, do to the Parthenon, or the Roman Basilicas, Pheidias' Zeus, or Athene, of ivory and gold, or even the remains of Byzantine painting and sculpture.

The later Bengali epics are all chiselled into classic grace and repose. But, studied historically, they exhibit an internal life and movement. The Meghnadbadha of Michael Madhu Sudana Dutt is classic both in style and conception, though the ground-work of the plot is derived from strictly oriental sources. Nothing can be a stronger testimony to the reality of Hegel's distinction between orientalism and classicism than this strange phenomenon in the history of poetic art, a splendid Parian monument of transparent classic art built on oriental foundations, a stately Pantheon on the site of a Pagoda. The phenomenon is unique and offers an *experimentum crucis* in favour of Hegel's classification of art. The next epic, Babu Hema Chandra Banerji's Vritra-sanhara, occupies a still more curious position. The traditional material is Puranic, and is thus derived from the great storehouse of

neo-oriental mythology. But the treatment is classic, not, however, as in *Meghnadbadha* in the genuine sculptural style which is most typical of classic art, but in the more mixed Roman architectural fashion, and the result is that both in style and conception, there is an expansiveness, a tendency to the illimitable and the formless, which savours more of the neo-classical than of the genuine classical epos. We proceed to exhibit this more fully by considering separately the development of style and of central conception in the succession of Bengali epics.

The style is now architectural, as pre-eminently in *Hema Chaadra Banerji*, and, as such, is determined by Miltonic vastness of dimension, of space and time; now we have the poetry of sculpture, as often in *Madhu Sudana Dutt*, an entire absence of colouring being compensated by the preternatural clearness and distinctness of form and proportion, and the poetic perception of symmetry and living expression. Again, we have the poetry of painting, characterised by the importance attached to colouring, a poetry necessarily romantic, in support of which position we may cite the instances of romanticists like Scott, Chateaubriand and Görres. This type, coupled with lyrical refrains in the musical style of poetry, is illustrated by Babu Nabina Chandra Sen's "Battle of Plassey."

This variety of style and execution faithfully reflects a corresponding variety of mood and conception in the modern epics of Bengal. The natural development of poetic style through such types as the architectural and sculptural, the pictorial and musical, has taken place *pari passu* with a deeper and more significant change in the central or guiding conception of the epos. With Michael Madhu Sudana Dutt, the conflict of force which is constitutive of the epic poem, has already raised itself in Miltonic fashion from the physical plane to the moral platform, herein transcending the classic conception,—though, of course, the *deus ex machina* is there still in full working, this commingling of the supernatural with the natural, of the superhuman with the human, of the miraculous, the mythical and the improbable with the historical and the actual, being a distinctive trait of the epic symbolism, or *Vorstellung*. In *Hema Chandra Banerji*, the war between the Devas and Asuras, the Indian counterpart of the rise of the Titans against the Olympian Jove, is conceived from a still higher standpoint, *viz.*, the metaphysical, as contrasted with the moral, point of view. Hence the veiled allegories and symbolism, which are hardly kept in the back-ground in the author's *Vritra-sanhara*, and are rife and in prolific profusion in his *Dasa Mahavidya*. The *deus ex machina*, or supernatural agency, and the human, or at least the anthropomorphic element

are still pre-eminent, for these physical and moral aspects of force, are indeed, comprehended in the metaphysical epos by being subordinated to the main mystico-allegorical design. It need hardly be pointed out that the metaphysical epos is simply the attempt of the modern consciousness to read a philosophic meaning into that conflict of energy which is constitutive of the epic poem. The two grandest examples in Western literature, of the metaphysical epos, Keats's *Hyperion* and Horne's *Orion*, by a very significant coincidence, deal with this very subject, *viz.*, the war of the Titans against the Jovian brood, corresponding, as has been said, to the war between the Devas and the Asuras, which is the theme of Hema Chandra Banerji's epic. This is not the place to compare and contrast minutely the central metaphysical conceptions that, 'half-revealed and half-concealed,' underlie the *Vorstellung* of these epics, but this general sketch of the fundamental sameness of subject-matter and treatment in *Hyperion*, *Orion*, and *Vritra-sanhara*, will suffice to give an idea of the class of epics we have in view.

The next Bengali epic went a further step in advance. The architectural and sculptural style at this stage gave place, as we said, to the pictorial and musical in Bengali poetry, and this fundamental change was accompanied by one equally fundamental in central conception and subject-matter.

That the *deus ex machina* was, till our century, regarded as an essential of a heroic poem, will appear whether we consider the national Brahmin, Greek and Roman epics of antiquity, or the romantic epics of Christendom celebrating the Crusades, or the universal epic of Milton, which is co-extensive in interest with the entire human race, and deals with the fate of worlds. Indeed, Dryden in one of his critical prefaces, expresses a grave doubt whether the epos had not been irrevocably lost to mankind, or at least to Christendom, as the enlightened Christianity of the future would make it impossible for the poet to employ that supernatural agency without which an epic poem would be like the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out. Dryden promised to show a way out of the difficulty in his contemplated *chef d'œuvre*, the epic of King Arthur. The promise was never fulfilled, but he gives us, in the essay in question, a fore-taste of his device, which is enough to shew that he had hit upon a metaphysico-allegorical solution of the difficulty, intending to give a speculative neo-Platonic basis to his employment of the *deus ex machina*, and thus fore-shadowing the modern metaphysical epos of which we have already spoken at length. This was, no doubt, a remarkable anticipation on the part of the father of English criticism. But it is

extremely open to question whether even the metaphysico-allegorical treatment of supernatural agencies can make the epic acceptable to modern taste and judgment. In Dryden's days, Christianity had stripped the Heavens and Earth bare of all the poetic resources in the storehouse of the Pagan Pantheon, or even in that of mediæval Angelology and Demonology, such as had served the Italian poets in good stead, and this disillusioning, partial as it was, the critic confessed to be very nearly a death-blow to the epic form. But a greater disenchanter still, the Copernican system, with its attendant train of scientific conceptions, had not yet disseminated that idea of the universe which we moderns imbibe from the intellectual atmosphere of the age. The situation of the epos in modern times has, therefore, been grave and critical, and has led in many quarters to determined efforts to resuscitate it without the old-world lumber of supernatural machinery, efforts in our opinion hardly crowned with success. The grand Homeric epos has been resolved, as it were, into the thousand original chants, dithyrambs and rhapsodies of the Homeridæ—we mean into metrical narratives, or historico-romantic chronicles in verse, such as those of Scott and Southey, Chateaubriand and Görres. But the resources of historical romance, ample as they are in all conscience, or rather want of conscience, ample enough to stultify its historical character and make of it a fancy-masque, are too scanty to serve as a foundation for the vast superstructure of the grand Homeric epos. As a matter of fact, this want of breadth and dignity in a metrical romance has been felt so keenly by the poets, that great historic subjects, such as the fate of dynasties, empires, nations, which would have formerly received a mythological treatment in an epic form, and now appear to constitute fit themes for its modern substitute, the metrico-historical romance, are invariably cast in a dramatic mould. We need not go back to Schiller and the earlier writings of Hugo in illustration of this truth; a little reflection will make it patent that this is the real origin of that modern phenomenon, the reading play, which, in English literature, has received such immense development at the hands of Browning and Swinburne, Buchanan and Tennyson. These reading plays, tragedies, for the most part, are the channel to which the *furor epicus* has been diverted from the reeking fens of metrico-historical romance, and are therefore fundamentally distinct in origin and character from the other species of modern reading plays, the metaphysical drama founded by Goethe, of which the highest representatives in English literature are the Prometheus Unbound of Shelley, the Manfred and the Cain of Byron, and the Paracelsus of Browning. The one attempt in

English (barring the *Epic of Hades* and works of a similar character which it would be out of place to consider here) to give the world a genuine example of the epic of modern life, is Tennyson's *Princess*, with a fine ring in it, "grand, epic, homicidal;" but even that unique specimen is a grotesque, being a mock-heroic medley of the classical, the mediæval, and the modern in style and conception.

Babu Nabina Chandra Sen's *Battle of Plassey*, then, is an epic conceived and executed in the latest fashion but one, *i. e.*, in the form of a metrico-historical romance. As such, it deals in the modern non-mythological manner with a momentous theme that is closely interwoven with the imagination and the sympathies of the nation, and of course illustrates the pictorial-musical style that appertains to the romantic school. But, as has been already stated, while this is no doubt a more advanced experiment than the metaphysical *epos*, in the direction of adapting the epic form to modern requirements, the line of experiment has been finally abandoned, and the epic pitch of sustained elevation finds, under modern needs and restrictions, a legitimate expression in non-spectacular tragedies, so that the mock-heroic medley of Tennyson may be said to stand in the same relation to the genuine *epos*, "grand epic, homicidal," as the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes did to the literature of knight-errantry and mediæval romance.

As a matter of fact, the merely transitional character of this historico-romantic form of the epic in Bengali literature appears abundantly from the subsequent course of literary history. The lyrical strains waxed more and more, and the external or objective embodiment of scene and character and plot was thrown into the back-ground. Countless volumes of lyrics and ballads, of highly-coloured and musically-intoned descriptive sketches and narratives, had their day. This lyric craze, this "*sturm und drang*," was, however, more a play of the fancy than of the imagination, more artificial than artistic. The *Avasara-Sarojini* and the *Avakasa-Ranjini* may be regarded as typical of this ephemeral class of poems.

We have spoken of the movement as one of "*sturm und drang*;" but, except in being an unhealthy ferment, it bears little resemblance to the "*sturm und drang*" period by pre-eminence, the period of German fret and fury associated with the *Werther* of Goethe and the *Robbers* of Schiller. These pieces are much more akin to the lyrical ballads and minstrelsies that possessed the national mind in Germany just before the advent of the Messianic majesty of Klopstock. A closer parallel still is afforded by the collections of songs and lyrics that, under the pretty poetical names of *Helicon* and *Parnassus* and the *Muses' Looking-glass*, were poured out, year

after year, in England, towards the middle of the sixteenth century. Better still, they may be likened, in point of finish and grace, to the cavalier roundels of Carew and Lovelace and Herrick who led, in their age, that school of erotic and amatory effusion which had been founded by Surrey, Wyatt and Vaux. If the passions depicted in these lyrics be not exactly what an admirer of French realistic art would scornfully term "the loves of a mythical mortal for a non-existent goddess," they are none the less feigned and conventional, having all possible glitter and coruscation and fancifulness, without the hectic fever and flush, or the Pythoness's fury or the divine afflatus of the genuine inspiration. As a matter of fact, some of the pieces in Avasara-Sarjini and Avakasa-Ranjini, with their profusion of myth and metaphor, of quaint ornament and ingenious conceit, read as translations of well-known cavalier ballads and roundels. Arctic voyagers tell us of "the blink of the ice," which, in the vicinity of land in a Polar sea, gives rise to a dazzling mirage that looks a thousand times lovelier and brighter than the light of day. The intense passion which these polished and crystalline lyrics reflect is but the blink of the ice in a polar sea !

Between these melodies, trilled "in full-throated ease" as it were, in the lap of "verdurous plenty and pleasure," and the neo-romantic lyric, the hollow phantom-tone of doubt, or the sepulchral note of despair, the interval is immense. The difference in form is slight ; that in mood and conception immeasurable. Yet, as a matter of literary history, the appearance of the former in Bengal was destined to be a prelude to that of the latter. The soil had been prepared ; literary art had advanced from the objective, or historico-epical, style of treatment to the stand-point of a subjective naturalism, and, if yet the discord between spirit and nature, subject and object, had not revealed itself to a naturalism that was fashionable and conventional, and a subjectivity that was unconscious and mechanical, the fault was not in the poets, but was due to the determining factors of social life and culture. By this time, however, those powerful solvents, government, law, commerce and literature, of a foreign western type, had done their best in melting away the cement of Hindu society. The state of that society brought about by this expansive and emancipative upheaval, presents a most interesting field of observation to the student of sociology. Here we shall be content with the statement, paradoxical as it may appear, that in the folds of the ritualistic Hinduism of to-day, in the very ranks of conformity and orthodoxy, there is far greater latitude of opinion, far more laxity of belief, far more versatility and flexibility of intelligence, far greater

elasticity and pliability of mind, than there is in non-ritualistic religious communities like those of England and Scotland. Thus it is, that ritualism tends to defeat itself. Looking to the history of a Roman Catholic country like France, and contrasting it with that of a non-ritualistic Protestant country like England, we find the same tale repeated. "The protest of Protestantism and the dissidence of Dissent" ultimately result in settled acquiescence of the mind, and lead a nation to a half-way house of compromise and accommodation. On the other hand, ritualistic conformity in two such widely differing circumstances of society as those in France and Bengal, has been only a cover for freethinking and licence, and has helped to foster versatility and flexibility of intelligence. There is a rigid objective standard of practice, but there can be in the folds of ritualism no such standard of truth, which, exerting a high pressure upon the individual mind, moulds into shape its opinions and beliefs. A subjective individualism goes hand in hand with a rigid mechanical order. What is curious to note is that, in Bengal (as was the case in France in the last century), the illumination has led to a mechanical subjectivity, and that this has been the environment out of which the neo-romantic movement has taken its rise. For the genesis of that movement it is essential that there should be a transition from a mechanical to an egoistic subjectivity, and this transition has actually taken place in the imaginative and intellectual culture of Bengal. The law of this latter type of subjectivity requires that every object of nature, or institution of society, be appraised, not, as in the former, according to a mechanical or external standard artificially set up by the individual, but according to his direct inner consciousness of his own wants, needs and cravings. This egoism may manifest itself in various ways, in philosophical creeds and systems, in cults and schools of literary art, in a seething ferment of social and political activity. Subjective egoism in Europe had parallel developments simultaneously in all the departments of theory and practice. In Bengal, on the other hand, the current of this subjective neo-romanticism has mainly confined itself to the channel of literary art, bringing on a fresh advance in the treatment of the imaginative and emotional material of life.

Here, again, we have to note, as at the introduction of every previous stage of poetic art in the course of the development of modern Bengali literature, the direct contact with western models of the corresponding type. No doubt, the development has been natural and necessary, the expression of an inner movement of the art-instinct which has realised itself everywhere in the same rational sequence and order, but the

rate of growth, as well as many individual variations and specific characters, has been determined by the dominant influence of western schools of literary art. Accordingly, we find that the first neo-romantic Bengali writer, Miss Taru Dutt (who, however, wrote in French and English) habitually breathed an atmosphere of Parisian sentiment and passion, an atmosphere of mingled noon-tide glare and sun-set colouring in the lyrics and songs of poets like Heine and Hugo, Beranger and Musset. This brings us then to the neo-romantic lyric and the canon of criticism we have proposed for this type of literary art. The historical inquiry in the last section has brought to light two elements as essential to the genesis of the neo-romantic type of mind and art, (1) a sense of discordance between the inner and the outer, spirit and nature, the ideal and the real, (2) a subjective egoism, which, arising in the passage from a mechanical subjectivity, sets up the gratification of the individual consciousness as the standard in questions of truth and falsehood, right and wrong, beauty and ugliness. Gradually, with the progress of the movement, the negative criticism, the conflict and the subjective egoism, tend to disappear; a current of transfiguration of the old order sets in, and critical and constructive elements come into play, which may be methodically and systematically registered by the help of a convenient formula or canon of criticism which takes note of three fundamental aspects of the neo-romantic constructiveness, *viz.*, (1) the ideal content of consciousness, or an objective criticism of life, (2) the *Vorstellung*, or what may be termed, the mythology of literary art, (3) the crowning transfiguration.

The first remarkable product of Bengali literature of the neo-romantic type, would fill a remarkable place in the full sense of the term in the history of any literature, western or eastern. The *Udvranta Prema* of Babu Chandra Sekhara Mukherji, a prose rhapsody, suggests by its very title that curse of doubt and despair, that blight of disillusion and disenchantment, that eats into the very vitals of the neo-romantic life and consciousness. If, omitting the direct romantic revival that had preceded in the *Götz von Berlichingen*, and other works, Goethe's *Werther* may be regarded as the prototype of the neo-romantic school, the leader of the forlorn hope, the *Udvranta Prema* may, with equal truth, be assigned a similar position in relation to that movement in Bengali literature. The same insanity and suicidal mania as in the *Werther*; yes, born too of despair, only a despair less universal than *Werther's*, as arising out of an infinite yearning, unquenched and unquenchable, and not like *Werther's*, ranging over the entire diapason of existence and therefore world-enveloping.

This only serves to corroborate our statement that the movement in Bengal is more largely emotional and imaginative than it was in Europe. If a maddening, deadly conflict between the inner and the outer, the ideal and the real, subject and object, be the key-note of the rhapsody, it is marked almost as distinctively by an intoxication of egoism, which imparts an autumnal sun-set glow, an impalpable fiery film, to its inner atmosphere. The inmost soul of nature is laid bare, as in interpreting her sights and sounds, like the moonlight and the murmuring stream, but the interpretation is wholly subjective, coloured by the ruling passion of the observer, and as such, quite distinct from either the sensuous naturalism of Keats and Musset, or the Pagan hylozoism of Swinburne or Madame Edmond. Again, the life and mind of man, society and social commerce, are criticised, estimated and appraised, but wholly according to the criterion of their suitability to the fruition of individualistic desire. Indeed, this need of subjective gratification, simulates the form of intellectual activity. The metaphysics and theology of the rhapsody are evidently the "fevered efflux" of a "mind diseased." There is the disbelief in the moral government of the world, in providence, in the soul, in personal immortality, in free will, in short, in any principle other than matter and necessity. All for love!

On applying our analytical canon to the *Udvranta Prema* as a work of art, several things come out clearly. The crowning merit of the rhapsody lies neither in its criticism of life, nor in its mythopoeic process, or *Vorstellung*, but in its marvellous transfiguration. Its criticism is not disinterested enough, as Matthew Arnold would say; in an artistic reference, it has the capital defect of being merely negative, and the capital blunder of being wholly subjective. That is to say, it does not transcend the earliest stages of neo-romantic art, those of desperate conflict and subjective egoism. An objective criticism, appraising things according to the measure in which they fulfil the law of their being, or reflect the regulative idea of their type or pattern, is quite alien to the atmosphere of sulphurous fume in the rhapsody, which, like Schelling's Absolute, may be compared to "the night in which all cows look black." Neither is the mythopoeic element, the invention of scene and situation, of prominent interest, or in any way above the familiar and the common-place. The burning-ghaut, if not as old as man, is considerably old, and the moonlight and the river-side are older still. The situation, that of a lover deprived by death of his beloved, is not only the stock-in-trade of every pubescent poet and novelist, but is here more than ordinarily barren, unpromising, and even

unreal. Symbolism or *Vorstellung* there is none. This is easy enough to understand. Without a certain remoteness from human interests, a degree of metaphysical abstraction, some vagueness or dreaminess of outline, or a touch of the unreal and the unsubstantial, no subject admits of an allegorical presentation. The rhapsody, no doubt, is "of imagination all compact," and may be said to have the mark of unreality and unsubstantiality requisite for symbolism, myth or allegory; but the imagination here is only the livid flash that attends the thunderstorm of passion, and an ecstasy, or a dazzling glare of passion, is incompatible with that serenity of self-conscious dreaming that spins out an allegory. Where a symbolical style is attempted, as in the chapter on the commerce of souls, it is only after passion is all outspent, and even then the fervid glow of human interest with which the subject is invested, completely breaks the spell of mysticism or allegory.

The magic of the *Udvranta Prema*, then, as has been already said, lies in its emotional transfiguration. This latter is truly thaumaturgic, a revelation of original creative power; it is as if "a new planet were to swim into our ken." The passion of the rhapsody thrills, startles, electrifies. It is a contribution to the stock of consecrated moods and abiding emotions that, purely human or social in origin, are fast taking the place of the distinctively religious feelings in lifting us to the Absolute and the Infinite, and making us transcend the limitations of finite existence. Disenchanted love is certainly nothing new, it may be even said with truth that it is the fate of all love to be disenchanted one way or other, but here the boundless egoism of subjective desire, and the universal hallucination begotten of it, produce a sort of clairvoyance, as it were, to which the entire panorama of nature and mind, of life and society, secretly unfolds itself.

Endless, indeed, are the varieties of mood and feeling which modern culture and civilization have added to the common stock of the race. The Wordsworthian attitude of "wise passiveness" towards Nature, and the Wordsworthian correspondence between the spirit of Humanity and the spirit of Nature, comprehend an important class of modern idiosyncrasies of feeling. Ultimately derived through the medium of Coleridge from the Leibnitzian Monadology and Schelling's Philosophy of Nature, Wordsworth's metaphysical views derived their sole importance from their being fused with his personal experiences, his introspective reveries, his "fallings off and vanishings;" in short, from their furnishing an ideal background to a class of spiritual instincts and intuitions, of mysterious feelings and perceptions, with which he first invested the contemplation of nature. In the history of moral and spiritual

exploration, Wordsworth may be fitly compared to Columbus, the discoverer of a new world. He made us a gift of an entire class of new feelings, perceptions and instincts ; he endowed us with an additional faculty which he named synthetic Imagination. The Wordsworthian synthesis of Imagination, it may be remarked, constituted, in the realm of æsthetics, a new departure which was analogous to Kants's discovery of the critical method with its synthesis of cognition. This is what we call thaumaturgy, a revelation of original creative power. But Wordsworth was the High Priest of Nature ; to him the universe was no "playground of fatalistic forces," but only the shore, standing on which the spirit "hears the mighty waters rolling evermore." Latterly, however, the theological cast has been very rarely given to the new-born emotions of the modern poetic world. One great group of these emotional products of modern culture and art, is comprehended under what, for want of a better name, may be termed naturalism, of which the hylozoism, or neo-paganism of Swinburne affords the highest type. The distinctive note of these feelings is seized, when it is remarked that they set up nature on the pedestal from which the supernatural has been taken down,—nature, not humanised, moralised, or spiritualised as was Wordsworth's wont, nor materialized and substantiated in the fashion of the physicists, but nature conceived from the stand-point of pure phenomenalism, and instinct with the creative, poetic, formative principle of life. Another, and an even more important, group of modern feelings is concerned with the apotheosis of the purely human relations of social life. Allied with this is that phenomenon of the modern ethical world, the enthusiasm of humanity.

Positivism with its *grand être*, which is none other than collective humanity, with its calendar of saints and its apotheosis of domestic piety, with its altruistic social morality and its posthumous immortality, only brings to a focus what is dispersed in faint glimmering over the entire atmosphere of modern life and society. In recent French and Russian literature, it is realistic art that raises these feelings to the highest pitch of intensity, and they are associated with schemes of a socialistic or communistic type. The Udvrant Prema eschews realism and socialism altogether. Its rampant subjective individualism is abundantly manifest ; but it is characteristic that the emotion which here constitutes the transfiguration, belongs to the class we are here describing, the purely human or social emotions, as we have already said, which are fast taking the place of the distinctively religious feelings in the work of lifting us to the absolute and the infinite, and making us transcend the limitations of finite existence. In this regard it is interesting to note the undercurrent of positivistic theory

and positivistic sentiment that every now and then comes up to the surface in the *Udvranta Prema*. This is the point at which the rhapsody transcends its merely subjective or negative character, and, becoming truly constructive, reaches a higher plane of art than the *Werther*, or the *Robbers*; but it is constructive it should be noted, neither by virtue of its criticism, nor in respect of its imaginative or mythopoeic process, but simply through its emotional transfiguration.

The first neo-romantic poet in Bengali literature, Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore, is the next conspicuous figure. The advance in constructive synthesis upon the rhapsody we have just noticed, is apparent at the first glance. The negative criticism of life disappears, which, in the " *Udvranta Prema*," turns the earth into one vasty charnel-house, and the heavens into a "dome of many-coloured glass" painted with the ruined archangel! The " *Udvranta Prema* " says to man in effect :—Man, thou art the great falsifier. "Deceive thyself," is the curse branded in letters of fire upon thy brow. For the knowledge of life and nature, the endless knowledge here below open unto thee, is a subtle, pervading ether-poison to thy soul, and the knowledge of the truth, her revelation, is the poison of all poisons. For it is in her grim, stertorous laughter that thou hearest, in her livid cadaverous world-flash that thou seest, that chalk and alum and plaster are sold to thee by the divine caterer for thy bread! Such art thou! Such thy lying countenance and thy shamming of the gods! Worse than such thy dark end or vanishing! This Nature is a grand, ever-recurrent hoax, a plausibly-schemed speculation-bubble, a gorgeous palatial lie, an eternal pious fraud, the universal bower of Acrasia, the templeless temple of Belial, a rampant, blatant power, a manifested system of evil! Such is nature,—and natural knowledge? "Night, being the universal mother of things," fond hugging grandam even of the gods, wise philosophers, Rosicrucian, Swedenborgian, &c., "hold all knowledge to be fruitful in proportion as it is dark," misty, symbolical; and therefore the true *illuminati* are the darkest and foggiest of all!

The " *Prakritira Pratisodha*" (Nature's Revenge) of Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore is just one step in advance of this negative criticism of life. The Sannyasi, the protagonist of nature, who looks upon the countless homes and haunts of men as ever-shifting sand-hills beat by a hollow-moaning sea, whose attitude towards the toilingmoiling multitude is neither the *suave mari magno* feeling, nor the Epicurean indifferentism of the crowned gods "lying on the hills together regardless of mankind," but the stern Lucretian irony of the sage who

has risen superior to the blind necessity that sits steering at the helm, the Sannyasi is master of a grotesque humour which can kindle the flames of a conflagration, as it were, that would reduce to cinders and ashes whatever is of nature, natural ; of man, human ; of the earth, earthy. A protagonist like this, fighting shadows and invisible beings, the forces of nature or society, the powers of darkness or the upper air, the denizens of heaven or hell, is the most striking figure of every modern metaphysical drama, or even monody, in illustration of which statement we may cite the first and most comprehensive and the last and most grotesque, *Faust*, and *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*. Thus, the "Prakritir Pratisodha" of Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore holds the same position among the modern reading plays which we have classed under the metaphysical drama, that Babu Hema Chandra Banerji's "Vritra-sanhara" and "Dasa Mahavidya" hold among the modern epics already grouped under the metaphysical epos.

As we found the metaphysical epos to be simply the outcome of the modern consciousness reading a philosophic meaning into that conflict of force which is constitutive of the epic, so the metaphysical drama is only the same consciousness, handling in a philosophical spirit the central tragic question. What is constitutive of the tragedy, it need hardly be stated, is the deadly struggle between the individual and a mysterious fate ; the sublime clash and conflict between the forces of subjectivity and an inexorable external necessity ; in short, the convulsive passion of *Laocoön* enfolded in the coiled meshes of the serpents from the sea, sent by the terrible slayer of *Python*. At first, as in the Greek tri-logies, only an external Nemesis-spectre, begotten of impiety and crime, and vicarious in its incidence like the original sin of Christianity,—then, as in the romantic tragedies of Shakespere and Calderon (for Calderon's *El Principe Constante* is romantic in soul, as in form), a *Frankenstein*-monster, secretly and remorselessly tracking the footsteps of its own creator, Fate came at last to be transfigured by the neo-romantic treatment to which Goethe was the first to subject it. The mere externality of the classical Nemesis had been remedied by the inwardness of the romantic tragedies, but at the expense of much of the tragic interest and purpose which centred round an awful and mysterious back-ground, such as the shadow of the haunting Eumenides afforded to the Greek tragedy. With Goethe the problem was to combine the soul of the romantic tragedy, its profound connectedness of significance and its complex organic structure, with a dark, fuscous, awful back-ground of moving invisible realities and forces such as

would restore to tragedy its sublime concentration of solemn purpose and interest, which is the marked characteristic of the Greek trilogies, and is comparatively feeble in the romantic tragedy. And this is what Goethe actually accomplishes in the Faust through the medium of Mephistopheles and the scenes in Heaven. And this is also what his English admirers, Shelley and Byron, seek to attain in the Prometheus Unbound, the Manfred, and the Cain. The energies of life and mind, the laws and forces of Nature, are unchained and let loose, as if the tableaux of the Universe were suddenly to move and stir into the drama of life; and the all-engulfing void of the Supernatural is peopled with dim, misty agencies, invisible essences and solemn realities, who seem to rehearse, as in a dumb show, the tragic *denouement*, somewhat in the same way as the rebellion and overthrow in Heaven form an artistic back-ground to Milton's presentation of the Terrestrial Fall.

The Paracelsus and the "Prakritira Pratisodha" are each a soul's tragedy, differing in some important respects from the ordinary metaphysical drama. In them, as in the latter, some law of nature or mind, some definite force of life or society, constitutes the element of fate or necessity, and unfolds and determines the plot "from within outwards." But while an objective fate thus overrules the events and conducts the plot to the catastrophe, these plays do without a back-ground in which the ministers of fate are themselves introduced as actors in the Drama. A moment's comparison between the "Paracelsus" and the "Prakritira Pratisodha" makes the immense superiority of the former manifest, in point of profound speculative insight, dramatic range and complexity of life, a sense of the social problem and of human perfectibility, and a masterly comprehension of the many-sided forces and tendencies which go to make up the stream of existence. Paracelsus, equally with the Sannyasi, goes to gather the sacred knowledge, "here and there dispersed about the world, long lost or never found." The prize which both desire to gain is the secret of the world, of man and man's true purpose, path and fate. There is the same stern isolation from the crowd, the same withering contempt for mankind, the same longing to trample, as it were, upon the herd. There is the same supreme "carelessness to love." Paracelsus aspires to know; and when Aprile, the poet, declares he would love infinitely and be loved, Paracelsus exclaims "poor slave, I am thy king, indeed." In both the tragedies the supremacy of love over knowledge or contemplation is vindicated in the end, when Paracelsus and the Sannyasi sink into madness and death. While the fundamental question

of the two metaphysical dramas is the same, and the answer is the same, they differ *toto caelo* in attitude and colouring. Paracelsus aspires to know only "to elevate the race at once." The Sannyasi's craving for knowledge of the ultimate truth is wholly egoistic. Again, it is the love of the race,—love, hope, fear, faith,—the heart of humanity in one word—that the dying Paracelsus, freed from madness, recognises to be supreme, when the approach of death rends the veil and endows him with prophetic vision ; and in the tragedy of his life it is humanitarian love that contends for mastery with his worship of such knowledge as holds the key to immortality. In the Bengali tragedy, the Sannyasi struggles with a feeling of tenderness for a lovely child of Nature, the stir of fatherly instinct, the inner workings of the heart for an outlet to its pent-up affections. Hence the conflict is between an individualistic search after truth, in the fashion of the Indian ascetic idealism, and the necessity of individualistic affection, and does not rise to the high platform of a representative struggle of the race between the ideal goals of infinite knowledge and infinite love.

If the neo-romantic metaphysical drama, in the hands of Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore, does not transcend the individualistic stage of art ; if the negative criticism of life, disappearing, gives place to a conflict between subject and object which does not go beyond the needs of an individual nature, and treats a question like that of the struggle between knowledge and love, Yoga, or Gnana, and Prema, not in reference to the objective requirements of social life, or of the ideal perfectibility of the race and the impulses of humanitarian enthusiasm, but solely from the stand-point of individual psychology, the same limitation characterises the author's *Pravata-Sangita* and *Sandhya-Sangita* (Songs of Sunrise and Sunset). Along with the rays of the waxing or waning light, of the rising or setting sun, come floating to the poet's soul, gossamer-like, underneath the grey skies, aerial fascinations and somnolescences, dissolving phantasms and sleepy enchantments, twilight memories of days of fancy and fire, ghostly visitings of radiant effulgences, or the lightning-flashes of a Mænad-like inspiration, which the poet transfixes and crystallises for us in many a page of delicate, silver-lined analysis, of subtly-woven, variegated imaginative synthesis.

In these songs it is that Bengali poetry rises to the pitch of the neo-romantic lyric. And what a type of the latter ! Two of the constituent elements, the criticism of life, whether negative or reconstructive, and the mythopœia, are almost wholly wanting, and the third element, the transfiguration, is all in all. The titles of some of the pieces in the *Sandhya-Sangita*

(Songs of Evening) will give an idea of the nature and range of the subjects treated :—Evening, Despair in Hope, The Suicide of a Star, The Forlorn, The Lament of Joy, Invocation to Sorrow, Pity, A Woman without a Heart, The Heart's Monody. Again, The Wail of Defeat, The Dew-drop. The intense egoistic subjectivity of these poems, untouched by any of the real interests of life or society, is almost without a parallel in the lyrical literature of the neo-romantic stage. An uncertain play of clare-obscur, such as Rembrandt might have envied, flings over a cloud-land scenery its fitful gloom and glare ; and winged fancies, floating shapes and flying phantoms that haunt the wilderness of a poet's heart, fill the air, as it were, with a strange hiss, as of "rustled wings." The deadly and desperate struggle to which all subjective egoism is doomed, gives rise to The Wail of Defeat, The Despair in Hope, and the Invocation to Sorrow. In most of the lyrics the transfiguration is perfect, as for example in The Invocation to Sorrow, The Heart's Monody, Evening, Pity, The Wail of Defeat. The nature of the transfiguration requires a word of explanation. A mood or emotion is transfigured and for the moment raised to the infinite and the absolute. By an unconscious synthesis of the poetic imagination, the entire Universe assumes for the moment the hue of this mood or feeling, giving rise to a kind of universal hallucination which may be aptly termed, poetic henotheism. This is, no doubt, higher than the poetic polytheism, which yields to each mood or emotion, as to the different inmates of the poetic Pantheon, a measured and definite homage ; but it is essentially polytheistic in its swift, protean changes, its want of consistence and organic structure, and the absence from it of any other than an unconscious imaginative synthesis. In this respect the Pravata-Sangita (Songs of Sunrise) exhibits a decided improvement. The very titles of some of the pieces, The Eternity of Life, The Eternity of Death, Creation, Conservation and Destruction, The Dreams of the Universe, Re-union with Nature, Gazing, Desideria, Echo, Nature in Autumn, The Fountain awakened from its Dream, The Stream, Winter,—suggest a greater measure of criticism of life than there is in the earlier work, a higher metaphysical grasp and intellectualism and a greater objectivity, as manifested in a newly developed capacity for the imaginative reproduction of the alien and outer phases of Nature's life. The Eternity of Life, with its three realms of Eternity, the Kingdom of Song, the Kingdom of Love and the Kingdom of Life, is no doubt a fine illustration of interpenetrative criticism and transfiguration, but, from a want of imaginative, constructive, symbolising power, it just misses reaching the memorable mythopœic height which Goethe's Three Reverences

and De Quincey's Three Ladies of Sorrow, attain. The Eternity of Death seizes the fundamental truth that life itself is realised in and through a series of changes, or deaths ; but the poem reminds one unpleasantly of the stilts, or the stage buskin, treating the theme, as it does, from a vague emotional, or metaphysical, point of view, which is characteristically Indian, and falls short of the moral purpose that shines in the poems of Tennyson,—

him who sings
To one clear harp in diverse tones
That men may rise on stepping-stones
Of their dead selves to higher things.

The Fountain awakened from its Dream is one of the finest examples in that style of poetic delineation in which Nature and the Heart of Humanity are both exalted by being made to light up each other. But more of this anon.

A fine luminous piece of criticism is Matthew Arnold's, when incidentally he remarks in one of his essays that all great poetry moves us by one of two methods of poetic interpretation, natural magic and moral profundity. By natural magic he means the secret of reproducing the real life, breath, or expression of Nature, as, for example, illustrated in Keats' Ode to Autumn. The Endymion stage of Keats' poetry, a stage which was however short lived,—the poetry of Vegetation and *greenth* as Professor Masson calls it, or as we propose to term it, the poetic chlorosis or green sickness, connected, wherever it is found, in poetic adolescence, with anaemia, breathlessness, palpitation, and an unhealthy hue of precocious or abnormal pubescence,—offers no doubt the highest example in literature of natural magic pure and simple. Of moral profundity Wordsworth's poetry may be taken as the type. It would appear that moral profundity, to Arnold's mind, consists in its theoretic, as apart from its artistic side, in "a humble recognition of one's subordinate position in the long scheme of things," the perception of "central peace subsisting at the heart of endless agitation," the lesson of patience and duty and obedience, and the great hope of accomplishing the moral regeneration of the World by slow individual toiling, each in the sphere of his daily life and appointed vocation. On any other interpretation it is inexplicable why Matthew Arnold should fail to find moral profundity in Shelley's poetry. We accept Arnold's distinction as real, but demur to the claim of exhaustiveness set up for the division. There is no formal or logical ground why a division into natural magic and moral profundity, as above explained, should be exhaustive, for natural magic does not cover the whole poetic ground of Nature, nor is moral profundity co-extensive with a poetic treatment

of the entire moral world. Further, the division is, in reality, only an incomplete classification of the external subject-matter of all poetry, and not a classification of poetic methods of interpretation at all, for the latter must take its basis in the first instance upon the powers of the investigating or interpreting mind, and not upon the varieties of objects to be interpreted or investigated. It is believed that the division into the three elements of the criticism, the mythopœia and the transfiguration here proposed, supplies us with a real classification of poetic methods of interpretation. As a matter of fact, Matthew Arnold's division breaks down in the application. For it gives him the curious result that Shelley has not the gist of poetic interpretation at all, as he has neither natural magic with Keats, nor moral profundity with Wordsworth, having natural magic only in his music, as Arnold is graciously pleased to allow in a foot-note conceived in an eleemosynary spirit. A lesser than a Browning and a Swinburne might have been well left to vindicate Shelley's heritage of immortal renown against a pigmy-attack like this. What we are concerned with here is the proof which such a solecism affords, that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in your Arnoldian philosophy and criticism. We shall be content with pointing out for the present two more methods of poetic interpretation, as real as either natural magic or moral profundity. There is the method of interpenetrative interpretation, which exalts and transfigures the heart of both Humanity and of Nature by making them light up each other. Shelley's Euganean Hills, Skylark, Cloud, and Ode to the West Wind, and Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore's Fountain awakened from its Dream, Evening, Dew-drop, Suicide of a Star, and Re-union with Nature, are among the finest examples known to us in this style of poetic interpretation, which reaches its apex in Victor Hugo's Leaves of Autumn. Many of Wordsworth's lyrical pieces are, in this vein of interpenetrative interpretation, raised to the moral or spiritual platform. One other method of interpretation, of which Shelley is a great master, is the transfiguration of the inner life of the Heart of Humanity, apart from any ethical purpose or note of moral profundity. This is what we have already termed the idealistic transfiguration of subjective egoism, which, of all the methods of poetic interpretation, has in it the most magic, or thaumaturgy. Babu Rabindra Nath Tajore's Invocation to Sorrow and Wail of Defeat, unless we are mistaken, cannot be very far from the apex of poetic achievement in this style. It remains only to add, that natural magic and the two modes of poetic interpretation we have just noticed, are comprised as varieties under the general method of transfiguration,

and that moral profundity is one of the subdivisions under that of the objective criticism of life. Some of the different varieties of the mythopoeic method of poetic interpretation, to which belong Goethe's *Phantasmagory of Helen*, De Quincey's *Dream-fugue*, and Shelley's *Witch of Atlas*, *Sensitive Plant*, and, to some extent, his *Alastor* and *Epipsychedion*, will be noticed later on in this paper.

The *Udvanta Prema* and the lyrics of Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore illustrate two broadly marked varieties of literary diction and harmony which it may not be amiss to indicate. The lyrics are in what may be termed the elementary style, which employs elementary emotions and images, like the elementary lines and colours, or the fundamental musical proportions in the sister Arts, to effect the transfiguration. Wordsworth's theory of poetic diction was at bottom an inculcation of the truth that the fresh, simple, and original emotions and images of Humanity and Nature will suffice to produce startling and endlessly varied effects in poetic Art. The simplicity of diction is only an external mark of the inner elementariness. Wordsworth's and Shelley's poems, for the most part, are written in this style, and in a higher field of art many of Browning's lyrics, romances, and even dramatic monodies illustrate the same diction. Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore's lyrics display, in a very marked and emphatic manner, the capabilities of this elementary style, and, as a reaction against an exaggerated form of an opposite variety, appear to have effected quite a revolution in the diction and cadence of Bengali lyrical and dramatic poetry. The *Udvanta Prema*, on the other hand, is one of the best examples in literature of the compound style, a style which employs, as its unit, starry clusters of associated images and feelings, "trailing clouds of glory," as they come or rich trains of harmonious suggestion, with their many-coloured fountain-play and evanescent rainbow hues. As contrasted with Shelley's, Byron's, or Wordsworth's style, Keats' style is markedly compound, and Swinburne and Dante, Gabriel Rossetti, and, to some extent, Tennyson and Victor Hugo, continue the tradition in pure poetry. But the glorification of the compound style is incompatible with the "narrow metres and regular cadences" of poetry, even Milton's blank verse not being excepted, and is witnessed in the prose rhapsodies of Carlyle and DeQuincey, Victor Hugo and Jean Paul Richter.

What is abundantly clear is, that the neo-romantic lyric in Bengali literature, while it has advanced beyond the negative criticism and the deadly conflict in which it first takes its rise, has just entered upon the second stage, that of

the constructive synthesis of life and consciousness, and has not yet transcended its early subjective, or individualistic, character. A few aspects of Nature and not many more moods, situations, or emotions of individualistic life, are alone transfigured. Invention, said Keats, is the pole-star of poetry, imagination the rudder, and fancy only the sails. In the lyrical sea which the Bengali neo-romantic poet navigates, he is without guidance of star and rudder, and trusts only to the sails.

Of Invention, of the creative or constructive imagination, "which may be compared to Adam's dream that on awaking he found to be true," there is a total dearth; and of objective criticism of life, there is not the faintest prelude. An objective synthesis of life and consciousness through a regulative conception, or even a creative mythopoeic imagination, as in the Apprenticeship, and the *Sartor Resartus*, is yet only the dream of a New World that lures on some bold but hapless navigator, here and there, out into the remorseless and trackless deep. How phantom-like is this, compared with the palpitating flesh and glorious carnation of the European neo-romantic poesy! Beginning with Goethe's first conception of the lyrical method as genuinely subjective, and then, when the apprenticeship was over, becoming, in his hands, beautifully objective, the neo-romantic poetry in Western literature has gone on in subjective-objective fashion, adding domain after domain of the immense real life of Europe, with its teeming interests material and spiritual; social, political and religious; æsthetic, scientific and speculative, till, at last, in the dramatic monodies of Browning, as in Bishop Blongram's *Apology*, *Sludge the Medium*, and *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwan-gau*, *Saviour of Society*, a new method makes its appearance—the natural history method as applied to modern phases of life, the method of an *Apologia pro vita sua*, or an introspective, autobiographic genesis. It is idle to expect in this country, in the absence of a surging Maelstrom of an intensely realistic life and a high pressure materialistic civilization, with "an impassioned breath in its countenance," such as may be summed up in the single word *Parisian*, it is idle to expect in the Bengali neo-romantic lyric a reflection of that rich, manifold and variegated society which Beranger and Musset, Sainte-Beuve and Theophile Gautier, Swinburne and Clough, Buchanan and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, hold up to the mirror in their many-coloured pages. Even if we go back to early attempts, like those of Shelley and Keats, with their comparatively meagre and barren canvas of life, their merely idealistic or subjective reconstruction of life and consciousness, we cannot fail to be struck with the bewildering complexity of

their intellectual interests. Within the boundless ever-expanding range of Shelley's intellectual interests fell at one time or another—(strange that a Matthew Arnold, a worshipper at the gate, should *presume to miss* force of intellect in a veritable Demiurge or Prometheus of the modern world)—subjective as well as Platonic Idealism ; Spinozism and Intellectualism ; Voltairien as well as Nihilistic Scepticism ; Hellenism and modern Socialism ; Pessimism and Social Revolt ; Italian Art and Chemical Experiments ; Spanish Romance and Pantheistic Mysticism ; pathological and experimental Psychology and the monastic rule of life ; Irish and neo-Hellenic Politics and German Metaphysics ; Goethe's Universalism and faint streaks of the Kantian Criticism. Keats' intellectual growth and expanse of mental horizon is only less interesting than that of Shelley, comprising, as it did in quick succession, mediæval romance, Hellenic mythology, Italian Poetry and Art, modern History and Biography, Heroics and Epics, and finally the Elizabethan drama of real life and passion.

Of all these, or their Indian analogues, there is not the faintest trace in the Bengali neo-romantic minstrelsy, except so far as Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore's imaginative reconstruction, under the pseudonym of Vanu Sinha, of the mediæval loves of Radhika and Krishna on the banks of the Jumna, "sacred stream," fairly matches Keats' reproduction of mediæval Italian romance and passion, which is as far above the antique masquerade of the Scott's romantic revival, as it is immeasurably below the neo-Italian and neo-Pagan reconstruction of William Morris and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, of Swinburne and Lewis Morris and Elizabeth Barrett to Browning, not to speak of the greatest modern master in this line, Robert Browning.

The sacred loves of Radhika and Krishna introduce us to the next definite step taken by the neo-romantic movement in Bengal. It was seen in the last section that a current of transfiguration, of the old social and religious order, sets in, as a direct result of the illumination, and of the sceptical, or negative, criticism which acts as a powerful disintegrant. In Europe we trace the following manifestations of the current of artistic revival and reconstructive transfiguration of the old romantic order :—

- (1) The romantic revival in Germany associated with Herder and Burger, Goethe and Schiller, and generally the leaders of the *Sturm-und-drang* period.
- (2) A second movement, in England, associated with Scott Ellis Ritson, Lockhart, Matthew Gregory Lewis, and generally the metrlico-historical romanticists. These two revivals addressed themselves more to the externals of mediæval romance than to its innerspirit.

- (3) Another, in France, associated with Chateaubriand and De Maistre. The movement subsequently branched off into the historic-romantic school headed by Augustin Thierry.
- (4) A fourth movement, in Germany, the romantic school by pre-eminence, associated with Tieck, the brothers Schlegel, Novalis and Görres. The terms romantic and neo-romantic are indifferently applied to this *school*. It is needless to state that we desire to reserve the term neo-romantic for the *epoch*, or *stage*, which is the subject of this paper, giving it a wider and more comprehensive meaning, in accordance with the analogy of the terms neo-classical and neo-oriental.

A fifth romantic movement in France, headed by Lamartine and Hugo, may be dismissed, as having very little to do with a revival of the romantic order, being simply of æsthetic significance, as a struggle between classicism and romanticism (in reality between a hybrid pseudo-classicism and an exaggerated neo-romanticism), as types of art. The fourth movement has also the same æsthetic interest ; but it moreover possesses a deep social and religious significance, in common with the third, which was nearly contemporaneous. The re-actionary political character of this last, may be gathered from the circumstance that Chateaubriand's Napoleon and the Bourbons was declared by Louis XVIII to be worth "an army of 100,000 men on the side of legitimacy." His Genius of Christianity had done the same knight's service to the cause of Roman Catholicism and the priesthood in France. De Maistre's Generative Principle of Political Constitutions, and, long afterwards, his examination of the Baconian Philosophy, expounded a socio-political, as well as speculative mysticism, which was simply a transfiguration of the old feudal and monarchical *regime*, a consummation of the work which Burke had begun. Sentimentality and mysticism were also the predominant characteristics of the fourth movement in Germany. At first a religious mysticism, counteracting the prevailing materialistic tendencies of the age, it soon came to be an ally of the Conservative Government, merging in the extreme Hegelian right, and, as such, was gibbeted as an ignominious traitor by that terrible leader of the army of the emancipated, the would-be red republican Heine.

The successive waves of revival and transfiguration of the old *regime* in Europe, traced above, will prepare us for a study of the parallel movement in Bengal known as neo-Hinduism, or the Hindu revival. To slightly alter a figure from the

philosophic biographer of Burke, the scriptural description of the symbolical image, with the head of gold, the breast of silver, the body and thighs of brass, and the legs and feet of iron and clay, well applies to this composite movement of revival. Babu Bankima Chandra Chatterji is its head of gold, Babu Chandra Natha Bose and Akshaya Chandra Sarcar are the silver breast and arms, a Bengali journalist furnishes the brass, and the rank and file of the great army of indolent slaves to routine form the feet of clay. One of the two branches of this movement, that headed by Pundit Sasadhar Tarkachuramani and Kumara Srikrishna Prasanna Sen, being what may be termed illumination-proof, is devoid of the neo-romantic element of reconstructive transfiguration which is the child of illumination, and does not therefore come within our purview. Neo-Hinduism, properly speaking, applies only to the other movement, led by Babu Bankima Chandra Chatterji as its theologian and constructive thinker, Babu Chandra Natha Bose, as its miscellaneous essayist and critic, and Babu Nabina Chandra Sen, as its epic poet. Said Chateaubriand, the leader of the third movement in France, "I am a Bourbonist in honour, a monarchist by conviction, and a republican by temperament and disposition;" and in this country, in need of an equally comprehensive plea, stands, no doubt, the thinker who contributed to its literature of Illumination an article entitled *Mill, Darwin and the Hindu Religion*, another headed *Miranda, Desdemona and Sakuntala*, an exposition of the Sankhya Philosophy, and a pamphlet on Samya (*Egalité*), once the leader of the vanguard of emancipation and deliverance, now the Balaam of the children of Moab and, we may say too, Philistia!

Navajivana (the New Life), a journal which was started as the organ of neo-Hinduism, suggests, by its very title, the working of that impulse which led Hardenberg, the rhapsodist of the fourth European movement of romantic revival, to call himself Novalis. Many of the articles in this journal on the Puranic gods and goddesses, on Hindu Pantheism and Ethics, on Hindu festivals, ceremonials and customs, illustrate that grotesque and incongruous blending of the physical with the spiritual which in Germany reached its apex in Novalis's *Disciples at Sais*. A hopeless sterility, a blank, stunned stare, an incongruous mysticism, a jelly-fish structure of brain and heart, are the characteristic features of this hybrid literature of impotence, as we may call it, in distinction from the literature of power and the literature of knowledge. From this great sink of national imbecility, over which may well be inscribed, as its motto, "Abandon Hope, all ye who enter here," it is refreshing to turn to Babu Chandra Natha Bose's *Secret of*

Sakuntala and his essays on love, religion, marriage, and cognate subjects. Here, at least, the hieroglyphical utterances of the Navajivana, which may be best likened to the senseless maunderings of some Hebraising Cambro-Britons over the unintelligible and uncouth remains of Stonehenge, do not assail our ears; but in the best style of art-criticism, following in the wake of Friderich Schlegel, the profound interpreter of the grand old masters of romantic art and a distinguished leader of the fourth European movement of romantic revival, our author lights up with a fine moral and spiritual significance the conventional structure and characters of the Hindu drama. Nobody need inquire into the historic truth or foundation of this æsthetic interpretation, or, for that matter, Fr. Schlegel's interpretation of Calderon's Christian symbolism and allegory, as exhibited in the Adoration of the Cross, or of Titian's Martyrdom of St. Peter, or Ulrici's of Shakespere's King Lear; such constructive criticism exhibits a power of intuition, or divination, being, in the region of *imagination*, what Cuvier's and Owen's gift, of making out an extinct animal structure, like the Megatherium, from a few fossil bones, was in the region of *science*. The hard and fast forms of the Hindu marriage and the Hindu family and social systems, however, do not yield to this imaginative mode of treatment, and thus our author's attempted spiritualisation of these real factors is a distinct failure. His æsthetic Pantheism, or spiritual Epicureanism, here degenerates into effusive sentimentality, and is open to the charge of posturing and attitudinizing.

But the Coryphæus of this movement, as has been stated, is, Babu Bankima Chandra Chatterji. His Essays on Religion and exposition of the Bhagavatgita published in the two journals, Navajivana and Prachara, form the gospel of this new propaganda. What strikes the reader familiar with the European religious movements of our age, is the fact that Babu Bankima Chandra Chatterji's religious teaching is an attempt to reconcile the conflicting elements of many of these movements within the pale of Hinduism, somewhat in the same manner as Baring-Gould, in tracing the origin and development of religious belief, finds the different physical, social and spiritual needs of man that are gratified by the different heathen religions, and even such superstitions as Fetichism, Shamanism, and Taoism, all embraced within the fold of Christianity. In this meeting-ground of incongruities, here held up in perspective, one recognises Pantheism and Agnosticism; Positivism and Asceticism; Renunciation and Ritualism; Gnosticism and Justification by Faith; the Gospels of Work and Prayer; Church Authority and Individual Judgment, Free Will and Fate; Progress and Order; Spiritual Worship and Avatarism; Historic Religion and

Evolution ; Hindu Nationalism and cosmic Propagandism ; the Material Civilization of the West and the Spiritual Renunciation of the East. Evidently the views on man and the universe held by thinkers like Mill, Spencer and Darwin, have vitally affected the author's interpretation of Hindu religion and philosophy ; but the profoundest influence of all has been that of Auguste Comte, whose Positive Polity and Religion unconsciously appear in almost everything that our author has to say on domestic, social and political ideals and institutions, and the creation or conservation of national life (especially in his novels *Devi Chaudhurani* and *Ananda Matha*). It is only meet that the Brahmin theologian of our day should return that profound admiration which the founder of Positivism entertained for some aspects of the Brahminical organisation of society.

From a purely speculative point of view, or regarded as a sketch of a theological system, the new teaching can hardly stand the test of criticism. But this is not altogether a fatal objection. For religious movements, in a sense we shall presently understand, are not bound to be scientific, and, it may be added with equal truth, they are not bound to be logical. In other words, it is not logical analysis, but the synthesis of life which logic is unable to accomplish ; not Reason, but obedience ; not the understanding, but the religious organ of veneration ; dependence ; a sense of the Infinite, or some other spiritual instinct or craving, that the *historic religions* profess to gratify ; and it is, therefore, as absurd to reject a *religious discipline*, because it is not a demonstrated philosophical system, or an inductively established scientific doctrine, as it would be to turn away from Virgil's *Aeneid* because Virgil is unhistorical and commits the ethnological blunder of tracing Roman descent from the Trojans, or, with the mathematician, to demolish Milton's *Paradise Lost* by triumphantly asking what it proves after all. Of course it will be perceived that religion is here taken in its narrower sense to mean the emotional apprehension of the Absolute, as Art is the symbolical or imaginative apprehension. In the wider sense, Religion is the complete realisation of the Absolute ; it requires harmony of cognition, feeling and imagination, and must be true alike to philosophy (including, for our present purpose, science), Art and what is specially known as the Religious consciousness. All perception of this distinction is wanting in Matthew Arnold, and hence the mischief of his teaching as to the divorce between religion and science. For the future is with the wider and not the narrower conception. We have now systems of philosophy culminating in religion, the systems of Hegel and Schopenhauer, Comte and Spencer, which aim at replacing the narrower conception of the historic religions by a wider and more comprehensive religion in

consonance with the science of the age. It would be worse than fatuity to mention Babu Bankima Chandra Chatterji's attempt in the same breath with these world-building forces ; it moves within the narrower sphere of the religious consciousness, and has no pretensions to being considered other than a *religious discipline or rule of life*. But, as a progressive movement within a historic church, it stands on a par with those of Abbé Lamennais, and Dr. Döllinger, and, as a moral and spiritual discipline, it fairly bears comparison with Matthew Arnold's Religion of Culture. But its deeper affinities lie elsewhere, with the wave of historico-religious revival associated with Chateaubriand's Genius of Christianity and De Maistre's Generative Principle of Political Constitutions. A historic reconstruction of the origins of Hinduism is attempted by the Brahmin theologian ; but, in point of massive learning, power of intuition, or divination, a disciplined historic sense and a comprehensive historic method, it is slight, and beneath a moment's comparison with the reconstruction of the canonical writings, or of the Life of Christ, attempted by Strauss, Baur or Renan. The fact is that a theological propædeutic, even a preliminary training in the modern historico-exegetical methods, is sadly wanting to the Brahmin leader of the neo-Hindu revival. The Krishna of the Mahabharata, which Babu Bankima Chandra Chatterji's religious reconstruction brings before us, is an entirely different portrait in central conception and design from the Christ of Strauss, or even of the New Tübingen school. But this Krishna is exactly such a figure of ancient Indian history as would have delighted De Maistre's soul, offering one more illustration of his fundamental political teaching as to the origin of society or political communities being always supernatural and shrouded in mystery, a dim pre-historic vista, peopled with moving shapes and looming phantoms of half-divine heroes and legislators, the Avatars of future tradition.

Babu Navina Chandra Sen's *Raivataka* is the epic of the Hindu religious revival. This huge epic, in twenty books, is marred by an æsthetic incongruity that is repulsive and fatal. It is difficult to repress one's admiration for the creative genius that could conceive the three striking figures—Krishna, Vyasa and Arjuna—as they are revealed in the first, second, third, seventh, twelfth, and seventeenth books ; it is as difficult to repress one's contempt for the *poetaccio* that could ruin the epic splendour of that creative energy by the puling sentimentality and degenerate effeminacy of the sixth, eighth, tenth, eleventh, thirteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth and eighteenth books. These fumes of a drunken Eros have no place beside the calm clear light, "the consecration and the dream," which shrouds the majestic figures of the half-divine Triad. The Uranian Venus might

not be unworthily introduced, but the lyrist of the Avakasa-Ranjini has apparently had no glimpse of any other Venus than the white-bosomed, cestus-engirdled Cypris of Bion and Theocritus. The simple truth is that ten of the twenty books (Books VI, VIII, X, XI, XIII, XV, XVI, XVIII, and, we may add, Books V and XX) must be lopped off, if the Raivataka is to take a place among the great epics of Bengal. The fragment that would remain would be a colossal wreck of a national epic, transfiguring, in the light of the illumination, the religious, political and social life of the India of the Mahabharata period. The grandeur of the situation fails description. A dim pre-historic vista,—a hundred surging peoples and mighty kingdoms, in that dim light, clashing and warring with one another like, emblematic, dragons and crocodiles and griffins on some Afric shore,—a dark polytheistic creed and inhuman polytheistic rites,—the astute Brahmin priest, fomenting eternal disunion by planting distinctions of caste, of creed and of political government on the basis of Vedic revelation,—the lawless brutality of the tall blonde Aryan towards the primitive, dark-skinned, scrub-nose children of the soil,—the Kshatriya's star, like a huge comet brandished in the political sky, casting a pale glimmer over the land,—the wily Brahmin priests, jealous of the Kshatriya ascendancy, entering into an unholy compact with the non-Aryan Naga and Dasyu hordes, and adopting into the Hindu Pantheon the Asuric gods of the latter, the trident-bearing Mahadeo, with troops of demons fleeting at his beck, or that frenzied goddess of war, the hideous Kali, with her necklace of skulls,—the non-Aryan Nagas and Dasyus crouching in the hilly jungles and dens like the fell beasts of prey, and in the foreground, the figure of the half-divine legislator, Krishna, whom Vishnu, the Lord of the Universe, guides through mysterious visions and phantasms unfurling in the fulness of his destiny, the flag of a universal religion of Vaishnavism which was to hurl down the Brahmin priesthood and their cruel Vedic ritualism, and to establish in their place the Kingdom of God in Mahabharata, one vast Indian Empire, a realised Universal Human Brotherhood embracing Aryan and non-Aryan in bonds of religious, social, and political unity ;—a grand design, a scenic pomp, an antique as well as modern significance like this, what national epic can show ? A colossal wreck of a national epic like this would stand the fragment of Raivataka, consisting of the ten books already mentioned, even then, the epic of neo-Hinduism, constituted such by the distinctive features of transfigured symbolism and allegorical mysticism. But the Raivataka in twenty books, we know, is a work which can arouse only indignation, we had almost said, contempt, for who can read books like the eleventh or the eighteenth

without a gnashing of the teeth, or an instinctive curl on the lower lip?

We have, in the endeavour to give a connected account of the neo-Hindu movement, passed over two remarkable works, one of them of monumental grandeur, in the neo-romantic literature of Bengal. The Valmikir Jaya, or the three Forces, physical, intellectual and moral, of Pandit Haraprasada Shastri, and the Sarada-Mangala of Babu Beharilala Chakravarti, represent a real advance in method and design upon the transfiguration of subjective egoism with which Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore's lyrics are replete. What predominates in these two works, the one a prose rhapsody, the other a phantasmagory in verse, is the mythopœia, both the transfiguration and criticism being subordinated to the central myth. Generically speaking, we may call this the mythopœic method of poetic interpretation, of which the fundamental design is a phantom-like succession of majestic shapes and images, stalking figures, allegories, and symbols, rolling on in one vast, surging, dream-like movement, "*tumultuosissimamente*." Goethe's phantasmagory of Helena De Quincey's Dream-fugue, many of Richter's rhapsodies in his *Fruit*, *Flower* and *Thorn* pieces, as also in his recreations under the Cranium of a Giantess, Shelley's *Witch of Atlas*, *Sensitive Plant* and to a great extent, his *Alastor* and *Epipsychedion*, and Byron's *Dream*, are glorious examples of this mythopœic method of poetic interpretation. There are endless varieties of this method, according as the two constituent elements, the phantasm and the movement, vary in character, and according as there is more or less of transfiguration and criticism. For example, the Valmikir Jaya is instinct with the profoundest criticism of life and society, and of schemes of regeneration of humanity, the myth being grouped round a central idea, or regulative conception. On the other hand, the Sarada Mangala, which may be described as a Bengali version of a phantasmagory that should combine the two visions *Alastor* and *Epipsychedion* in one, revels in an intoxication of emotional transfiguration. With regard to the movement, the Valmikir Jaya is more processional, the Sarada Mangala more billowy. Similarly, the phantasms, visions, or images have a definite sculptural, cast in the one, and an indefinite, musical billowiness in the other. We have said that the mythopœic method is an advance upon a method of mere transfiguration, such as natural magic or the transfiguration of subjective egoism. This is because creative or constructive imagination is more elaborate, and has greater complexity of organisation, than mere emotional exaltation, however intense. As a result, a deeper criticism of life, a higher regulative conception, is usually present in the former than in

the latter. Indeed, the central idea of Valmikir Jaya, which is very inadequately expressed by describing it as the eternal triumph of moral over intellectual and physical force, has alike moral profundity and universal applicability. It is not, however, the criticism of life and society, but the mythopœia, the phantasmal succession, that constitutes the essence of this sublime rhapsody. For we must say at once that it is the most glorious phantasmagory in literature known to us. Goethe's Helena with its weird uncertain movement, mingling the antique with the mediaeval, the classical with the romantic, displays a fine critical insight ; but it pales before the Valmikir Jaya, not only in moral profundity, but also in grandeur of design, a sense of primitive elemental freedom, and an intoxication of the creative imagination. De Quincey's Dream-fugue, strangely mingling the sepulchral passion of deliverance from sudden death with the jubilant salvation of Christendom from that apocalyptic dragon, the first Napoleon, and symbolically with the Resurrection of Christ, strains after a profound spiritual significance ; but it pales before the Valmikir Jaya, in internal and organic connectedness, if not in the weird sublimity of the phantom-like procession. Richter's Dream of the dead Christ is morally profound, and grotesquely imaginative ; but it pales before the Valmikir Jaya in magnitude and breadth of canvas and dramatic intensity of life and passion. The Bengali phantasmagory is sublime, not with the sublimity of Ossa and Olympus, but with that of the Himalayan range. Viswamitra, with his creation of a Universe and his fall, forms the Everest,—the descent of the celestial Ribhus from beyond the Milky Way upon the mountain summits the Kinchinjanga, and the vision of the Virata Murti, or the Universe-body of Vishnu, the Dhawalagiri, of this majestic range. The transfiguration here of the India of the Ramayana period (though not in the neo-Hindu interest) would compare favourably with that of the India of the Mahabharata epoch in the Raivataka fragment, both bearing marks of the illumination in the motto of fraternity or universal brotherhood, and it may be safely said that Viswamitra and Krishna, with the two visions of the Virata Murti, are the sublimest conceptions to which the neo-romantic movement in Bengal has given birth. And this leads us to remark that the neo-oriental material of the Puranas lends itself with peculiar ease to neo-romantic treatment. In the classical epos of Michael Madhu Sudana Dutt and Hema Chandra Banerji, we observe no special advantage that the poets derive from the nature of the neo-oriental traditions they work up ; but this is at once perceived when neo-romantic treatment is applied to the neo-oriental material. This is easily intelligible *à priori*, when we consider the element that

is common to the three transitional stages, the neo-oriental, the neo-classical and the neo-romantic.

A volume of lyrics and ballads entitled *Alô-ô-Chhaya* (Lights and Shadows) by Miss Kamini Sen, a lady-graduate of the Calcutta University, is the latest product of the movement under survey in this country. It is a work of great talent and greater promise, and is of unique interest as carrying one of the three elements of the neo-romantic poesy further than any other Bengali poem. In point of natural magic, or transfiguration of subjective egoism, the lyrics are nowhere beside Babu Rabindra Natha Tagore's *Songs of Sunset*, and as regards the creative Imagination, unfolding deathless visions of Sublimity or Beauty, the finely imaginative pieces in this volume, *Mahasweta*, *Pundarika* and *Chandrapida's Awakening*, are eclipsed in the blaze of the *Valmikir Jaya* and the *Sarada Mangala*. But in the other element, the objective criticism of life, the previous works are meagre beside Miss Sen's poetry. *The Quest After Happiness*, *Sorrow*, *Renunciation*, *New Year's Eve*, *Destiny*, *The Pole-star*, *The Dream of Youth*, *Hope's Enchantment*, *Farewell*, *Asunder*, *In Abraham's Bosom*, *The Mother's Call*, *The Uninvited*, *A Three Years' Child*, *Where?* *The Question*, *the Inner Soul of Beauty* are the titles of some of the pieces, titles which fail to give any idea of the variety of moods, situations, scenes and interests of life they compass and comprehend. There is not a trace here of the Vulcanic agencies of society in which French realism sees all things, as the Huttonians saw the world in the forces and fires of Vulcanism, or, to borrow a figure from Matthew Arnold, as Malebranche saw all things in God. Neither is there here any trace of the Satanic element, in which the Satanic school, headed by the author of *Don Juan*, that epic of modern realism, revel. Breadth, size, altitude, foreshortening, there is none ; the large stature, or the "large utterance" of the gods, one will be disappointed in seeking here. But the poetess's gift of subtle intellectual analysis, bringing out the uncommon in the common, the hidden grace, the soul of individuality, the note or charm of pathos, in the ordinary scenes and situations of life, has in it a rare and exquisite flavour, and is entirely novel in Bengali literature. Of Wordsworth, who possessed this gift (along with the faculty divine, the consecration and the dream) in a greater degree than most other men, there is a genuine echo in many of the lyrics (as in *Oh ! My Destiny*, *The Pole-star*, *The Travellers' Greeting*, *To A Three Years' Child*, *In Abraham's Bosom*, *The Mother's Call*, *The Inner Soul of Beauty*); Hope, love, self-renunciation, the quest after happiness, are treated from the idealistic point of view ; but the idealism here is more largely an echo of Shelley in his moods of Platonic Optimism, than

of that traveller between life and death, Wordsworth. A delicate filigree-work, a dance as of silver-twinkling feet, a soft, lolling lilt, is the character of her style and cadence, an external form well-suited to the simple Wordsworthian pathos, the subtle intellectual analysis and the womanly delicacy and refinement of culture, that constitute the soul of Miss Sen's poetry. Duty, humanitarian enthusiasm ; renunciation and self-sacrifice ; even a sort of Indian Iphigenia in Tauris, occupy a large space in Miss Sen's mental horizon ; but moral profundity there is none, and it is as well to say, there can be none, in the entire absence of the **Vulcanic** agencies and the **Satanic** element of life. A great spirit is a Golgotha, as Goethe said, and it is equally true that moral wisdom blooms in the Garden of Gethsemane. In place of the Garden of Gethsemane, we have here the Garden of Eden with the thornless Rose of Paradise, and for Golgotha we have the Valley of the Delectable Mountains. The " Dream of Youth " is extremely suggestive of the limitations of the poetess's personal experience, producing corresponding limitations of scope, vision, treatment and style ; the simplicity, faith, innocence of childhood blooms in many of the lyrics ; the " Nirvan " is too easily attained, and in the very next piece, the Awakening, there is an elasticity, a flexibility, a capacity for change, which betrays a want of organic synthesis of consciousness, to which are also due the abrupt transitions to incongruous moods which the careful reader will occasionally detect, as, for example, in the Panchaka (The Quincunx of Love, or better The Pentad) of which the first, the second and the last three pieces are internally disconnected with one another. There is much of grief in these lyrics, but the grief is jejune, or at best imaginative ; evidently the iron has not entered into the soul ; and the cry is not the shriek of a Hercules wearing the poisoned garment of the Centaur Nessus. All this, in our eyes, enhances the significance of the volume, as indicating a growing mind, an expanding soul, rich in the promise and potency of wisdom. Already in the last piece but two, a Soul's Tragedy, there is a real advance in complexity of passion and dramatic intensity of life, which is highly impressive, and the last three pieces of the Quincunx (Panchaka) are all but morally profound in their treatment of love. The three poems, Mahasweta, Pundarika and Chandrapida's Awakening, are almost the only pieces in this volume displaying the talent of a fine imagination, and they are all reproductions of the neo-oriental apotheosis and transfiguration of love in the Kadambari. The theme of the immortality and apotheosis of love, dealt with, in the neo-oriental fashion, with lawless and grotesque symbolism in the Sanskrit romance, is here transfigured beneath the sunset hue, or the " purple

amethyst," of neo-romantic love, though not with the fulness or profundity of Browning's reproduction of an analogous classical theme, the *Alcestis* of Euripides, in Balaustion's Adventure; and this artistic mingling of the neo-oriental with the neo-romantic, in these pieces, as also, though in a more important direction, in the *Raivataka* fragment and the *Valmikir Jaya*, brings into view a halting-stage, with a Janus visage on a pedestal, looking both ways, to the past and the future, where we may conveniently break journey for the present.

BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL.

ART. IX.—A PLEA FOR THE FORMATION OF A LINNAEAN SOCIETY IN CALCUTTA.

THE want of an association exclusively devoted to the promotion of the pursuits of Zoology, Botany and Geology is strongly felt on this side of India. Though the Asiatic Society of Bengal, since its foundation in 1784, has, to a certain extent, discharged the functions of such a society, by investigating, to quote the words of its illustrious founder, "into whatever is produced by nature within the geographical limits of Asia," yet, being mostly devoted to researches into antiquities, literature, history and anthropology, it cannot direct the same amount of attention to the pursuit of the Natural History group of sciences, as it does to the study of literary and historical subjects. A few papers on botanical subjects appear to have been read before the society during the earlier years of its existence; but the foundation of the Royal Botanical Gardens in Calcutta in 1786, and of those at Saharanpur in 1823, and the patronage extended by the late Hon'ble East India Company to the savants in its service, who prosecuted researches into the Flora of India, removed the science of botany from the special care and attention of the society. Hence, when the Physical Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was formed in 1828, this science was excluded from the range of subjects investigated by the society. Hence also the paucity of papers on botanical subjects read before the society and published in its *Journal*. Previous to the year 1828, few papers on zoological and geological subjects seem to have been presented to the society. The Physical Committee of the Society was revived on the 2nd of January of that year, under the auspices of Sir Edward Ryan and Mr. James Calder, and from that time we find that numerous contributions, embodying original investigations into Zoology, Geology and Mineralogy, began to pour in, as the volumes of the *Asiatic Researches* and the *Journal A. S. B.*, published subsequently to that year, testify. Thus it will be seen that, though the Asiatic Society of Bengal has been the pioneer of original researches into the Fauna and Flora of India, yet it cannot now-a-days devote its undivided attention to the study of the Natural Sciences. This inability on the part of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to keep pace with the rapid strides which the knowledge of the Natural Sciences is making in other parts of the world is nowhere more patent

than amongst the members of the society themselves. Lieutenant-Colonel J. Waterhouse, President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in the course of his address delivered before the Annual Meeting of the Society in February 1889, observed : " For myself, though I should be the last to underrate the value of the admirable work our society has done and is doing, I should be glad to see it occupy a more prominent position as the exponent and representative of scientific progress in this country and keep itself more in touch with the movements of the day in the direction of scientific and technical education, and the spread of scientific knowledge in its application to the practical requirements of the country. New societies and new journals are being started, some of them for objects quite within our scope. *It is exceedingly gratifying to see this evidence of progress, but at the same time it seems to show that our society does not sufficiently meet the requirements of the times, and it might be well for us to consider whether anything could with advantage be done to extend its usefulness by a re-arrangement of our journals and the encouragement of branch societies or sections for special objects.* This, however, is a subject upon which I cannot now enlarge." It is thus evident that the necessity of founding societies having for their objects the promotion of the study of special sciences, is felt by the society itself ; and it would appear that there is already room for the foundation of a special society for prosecuting researches into Zoology, Botany and Geology exclusively, and there is ample field still left unexplored for the work of such a society. There still remains much to be done in the way of working out the Fauna and the Flora not only of Asia but also of India itself ; and that a Linnaean Society of Calcutta, like its celebrated namesakes, the Linnaean Societies of London and of New South Wales (in Australia), would find ample work in that direction to engage itself upon. When the Calcutta Zoological Gardens were founded in 1876, it was proposed in the original prospectus that the Committee of Management should eventually be formed into a Scientific Association having for its objects the maintenance of the gardens in a state of the highest scientific efficiency and the promotion of the pursuit of zoology. In order to give effect to this proposal " the Committee, in July 1882, suggested to Government that the donors and subscribers to the gardens should be permitted to form themselves into a society, institute, or association, to carry out the aims mentioned and embodied in the original prospectus. On the 15th of December 1882, the Lieutenant-Governor signified his approval of the proposed change, and, on the 14th of March 1883, the

proposal received the sanction of the Government of India, but on the understanding that the control of Government over the society would be fully provided for in the Articles of Association. The Committee have again had the subject before them, but have resolved to take no further action until the ensuing cold weather (of 1883), when there will be a great number of members in Calcutta than at present (on the occasion of the Calcutta International Exhibition held in 1883-84); but, in the meantime, steps will be taken to have the Articles of Association drawn up." (*Vide* page 6 of the Report of the Honorary Committee for the Management of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens for the year 1882-83.) It will be seen from this, that, since the establishment of the Zoological Gardens at Alipore, efforts have, from time to time, been made to constitute the Honorary Committee of Management of the Gardens into a Zoological Society of India, which will not only develop and display the zoological wealth of this country, but also promote and foster all original researches into the Fauna of India. It was proposed to found the Society in Calcutta, after the model of the Zoological Society of London, which not only supports one of the finest Zoological Gardens in the world, but by the reading of papers on zoological subjects at its scientific meetings, by discussions thereupon, and by the publication of its organs—the *Proceedings* and the *Transactions*, which are always replete with memoirs, monographs and notes of great scientific interest, have considerably added to our knowledge of the various animals now living on the surface of the globe, and have raised zoology into a position of one of the most accurate of sciences. But it is to be regretted that the efforts made in Calcutta in this direction proved unsuccessful, and that the project of forming a Zoological Society of India in Calcutta fell through. With respect to the falling through of this proposal, the Bengal Administration Report for 1884-85 (p. 345) says: "A proposal was made in July 1882 to form an Association under Act IV of 1882, for the management of the Zoological Gardens, and the proposed change in the constitution of the committee which manages the institution was approved by the Government of India. Difficulties, however, were found in carrying out this intention, and the scheme has, it is understood, been abandoned." The failure of this proposal to form a special association in Calcutta, devoted exclusively to the study of Natural Science, is all the more to be regretted, since in the Western Presidency of India, there have been established special societies, having for their objects, the promotion of researches into special branches of science, exclusively, such as Natural History and Anthropology, in spite of the existence

of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is devoted to the investigation of the philosophy, sciences, arts, literature, geography and history of India. This society, which arose out of one started in 1804 by Sir James Mackintosh, under the name of the "Literary Society of Bombay," has among the subjects of its enquiries the Natural History group of sciences. In the course of his inaugural address, Sir James Mackintosh observed : " The whole extensive and beautiful science of Natural History, which is the foundation of all physical knowledge, has many additional charms in a country like India, where so many treasures must still be unexplored. The science of Mineralogy, which has been, of late years, cultivated with great activity in Europe, has such a palpable connection with the useful arts, that it cannot be necessary to recommend it to the attention of the intelligent and curious. The Botany of India has been less neglected, but it cannot be exhausted. To the members of the learned profession of medicine, who are necessarily spread over every part of India, all the above enquiries, peculiarly, though not exclusively, belong." Thus eloquently did Sir James set forth the advantages of the natural sciences as subjects of enquiry for the members of the newly-formed Literary Society. But very few papers on Natural History subjects appear to have been read before the parent society, and even the number of papers on such subjects, presented to its offshoot—the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society—is so small, that they can be counted on the fingers of one hand. From an examination of its publications, it will appear that the latter society has altogether neglected the promotion of the pursuits of these sciences. In the index of authors, who contributed papers read before this society, we find only the names of T. Blanford, Broughton, Buist, Carter, Dalzell, D'Souza, Hislop, Fulljames, Leith and J. A. Murray, who are mentioned therein, as having contributed papers on Natural History subjects to the society. Only three persons, *viz.*, Dr. J. C. Lisboa, A. K. Nairne and N. A. Dalzell, contributed four papers, in all, on botanical subjects to it. So it would appear that the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, though originally founded for instituting investigations into the Natural as well as other sciences, does not now-a-days devote so much of its attention to the promotion of the pursuits of Zoology, Botany and Geology as they deserve. Of late years, it has devoted itself exclusively to investigations into the archæology, the literature and the history of India, and, as regards researches into the Fauna and the Flora of the country, it appears to have, in a manner, become effete. Considering that the study of Natural History and Anthropology were

being neglected in that Presidency, two special societies, having for their objects the promotion of the pursuits of these two sciences, have been founded in Bombay. The steady progress which these societies are making, shews that a lively interest is taken in Biological and Anthropological studies on the other side of India. The Natural History Society of Bombay, which was established in the year 1883 for the promotion of the pursuit of Zoology, Botany and Geology in all their branches, so far as may be inferred from the rapid accession of members, whose number in 1888 was more than 400, and from the contents of the four volumes of the *Journal*—comprising sixteen numbers—which have been published by it, appears to be in a flourishing condition, and to be doing good work in that Presidency. It has also got together an admirable little museum of natural history curiosities, containing many rare and interesting specimens. The Anthropological Society of Bombay, which was founded by Mr. E. Tyrrell Leith in October 1886, for the purpose of promoting anthropological researches in India, by investigating and recording facts relating to the physical, intellectual, and moral development of man, and more especially of the various races inhabiting the Indian Empire, continues to flourish and is increasing its sphere of usefulness year by year. In 1888 it had over 330 members, and its members are now working out many interesting points in connection with the Anthropology and Ethnology of India and its dependencies. It has published a volume of its *Journal*—consisting of eight numbers—which is replete with interesting papers treating of the races, castes, religions, superstitions, arts, manners and customs of the various peoples inhabiting the continent of India. Bombay had even a special society for prosecuting researches into the geography of Asia and for exploring unknown tracts of countries in that continent. The Bombay Geographical Society was founded in the year 1831, originally as a branch of the Royal Geographical Society of London. In the year 1873, this society became amalgamated with the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and now forms its geographical section. From the year 1844 up to the year 1870, it published nineteen volumes of its *Journal* and *Transactions*—an important periodical containing, besides the usual papers on geographical subjects, grammatical sketches of several languages and dialects, as well as the most valuable contributions on the Natural Sciences of India. Since 1871, this publication has been amalgamated with the "Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society." Considering that the subordinate Presidency of Bombay had, in past times, a society for

prosecuting researches into the geography of the Asiatic regions, and, at the present moment, boasts of two special associations devoted to the promotion of the pursuits of Natural History and Anthropology, it is a positive reproach to the city of Calcutta that it should remain without a special society for prosecuting researches into the Zoology, Botany and Geology of Asia. It is also a standing disgrace to the citizens of the metropolis of British India that attempts, made even under the auspices of the Government of Bengal and of India, to establish a Zoological Society of Bengal, should have hitherto proved fruitless. Almost every country in Europe, though possessing learned bodies devoted to the promotion of the pursuits of all the sciences, has nevertheless special societies for the prosecution of researches into its special branches. The same is the case in the United States of America. Though in Paris there is the Institute of France devoted to the prosecution of researches into all the branches of science and the fine arts, yet there are special societies for promoting the pursuits of its special branches exclusively. There are the Société Géologique, the Société Zoologique, the Société d' Anthropologie and others. In spite of the existence of the K. K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna, there are in that city, the special associations, named the K. K. Geologische Reichsanstalt, devoted to the promotion of the pursuits of geology, and the K. K. Zoologisch-Botanische Gesellschaft for prosecuting researches into Zoology and Botany. In Berlin there is a special society entitled the Entomologische Verein, which is composed of the leading German entomologists, though the Royal Academy of Sciences of that city pursues inquiries in that science. In Holland, the subject of Zoology is exclusively dealt with by the Royal Zoological Society of Amsterdam, in spite of the fact that that science is included among the subjects inquired into by the Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen (the Royal Academy of Sciences of Amsterdam). The oldest of the learned societies in London is the Royal Society, which was incorporated by Royal Charter more than 200 years ago and had Charles II for its first patron. This renowned society, which numbers some 600 of the foremost scientific men of the day, is the pioneer of all scientific movements in England and has, for its objects, the promotion of researches into every branch of science. In spite of its existence, there are in London special bodies for investigating special branches of science. There are the Geological Society of London, founded in 1807, for geological researches; the Zoological Society founded in 1826, under the auspices of Sir Humphrey Davy and Sir Stamford Raffles, for the promotion of the study

of the living fauna of the world and for the acclimatisation of exotic animals in England; the Royal Botanical Society of London incorporated by Royal Charter in 1839 and devoted to the dissemination of botanical knowledge among the people of the United Kingdom, by the delivery of lectures on botanical subjects, by the holding of floral fêtes and by the exhibition of the fine collection of exotic plants in its gardens in Regent's Park. In addition to these, there is the Linnaean Society of London, which took its rise as a branch of the Royal Society in 1788, and which is devoted to the promotion of the pursuits of Zoology, Botany and Geology in all their branches. Even the provincial cities of Great Britain and Ireland, though possessing learned bodies devoted to the study of general science in all its branches, have nevertheless societies for the study of its special branches. Edinburgh, though possessing a Royal Society for the study of general science, yet boasts of a Botanical and a Geological Society exclusively devoted to the study of those branches of science. Though a Royal Society exists in Dublin, yet that city possesses a special scientific body under the title of the Geological Society of Ireland.

I have clearly shown that not only every civilized country in Europe, but even the Presidency-town of Bombay, though possessing learned bodies for the study of general science, has also special societies for prosecuting researches into special branches of scientific knowledge. Though the Asiatic Society of Bengal promotes the pursuits of general science in Northern India, yet in Calcutta there is no special body for prosecuting researches into its special branches. It seems, therefore, that it is now high time for the establishment in Calcutta of a society for the study of Zoology, Botany and Geology. It might be urged, by way of objection to this suggestion, that, when attempts made under the auspices of Government to establish a Zoological Society of Bengal proved abortive, there is no chance of success for this proposal to found a society in Calcutta for the promotion of the study of Natural Science. In answer to this objection, I would suggest that the Natural History Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal might very well be utilized by its being constituted the nucleus of the proposed society. This committee numbers some nineteen leading European naturalists in India, and they, together with such of the donors and subscribers to the Calcutta Zoological Gardens as might be willing to join, might be combined into a society under the title of the "Linnaean Society of India." The objects of the proposed society should be:—

- (1). To promote the prosecution of researches into Zoology, Botany and Geology in all their branches.

- (2). To hold periodical meetings at which papers and notes on Natural History subjects should be read and discussed.
- (3). To publish a periodical journal, containing the papers and notes read at its meetings and other communications of a kindred nature. All papers on Natural History subjects presented for reading before the Asiatic Society of Bengal should be transferred to this new society for publication in its journal.
- (4). To manage and develop the collections of living animals contained in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, and to publish original observations on the habits, instincts, breeding, &c., of rare and new animals that may be presented to, or acquired in any other way, by the gardens.
- (5). To form a museum of zoological specimens of animals that may die in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens and that may be presented to the society. This museum should be supplementary to the zoological collections, contained in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- (6) To form a herbarium of dried botanical specimens which should be supplementary to that existing in the Royal Botanic Gardens at Seebpore near Calcutta. It should also form a museum of economic botany like the one existing in the Royal Gardens at Kew.
- (7). To form a library of reference consisting of books on Zoology, Botany and Geology.
- (8). To publish a bibliography of the works treating of the Natural History of India.
- (9). To diffuse a knowledge of the Natural Sciences among the people of India, by the delivery of lectures on such subjects and otherwise.

I have shown the absolute necessity which exists on this side of India for the establishment of a Linnaean Society. It is for those who are interested in the cause of scientific progress in this country to respond to my call and to carry out my suggestion. The proposed Linnaean Society of Calcutta, if established, will not only remove a want long felt on this side of India, but will also further the cause of scientific research in this country.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE QUARTER.

TAUGHT by the experience of last session, Lord Salisbury's Government has determined to discount the obstruction which it cannot undertake to prevent. Parliament was opened on the 25th ultimo with a speech from the Throne which was almost Spartan in its simple brevity. As far as foreign relations are concerned, it was as featureless as such speeches usually are in times of profound peace, and contained nothing but what was already known, or might have been taken for granted, while, in its survey of domestic affairs, it was remarkable rather for what it omitted than for what it contained. The struggle between labour and capital; the prospects of silver; the recent financial crisis, were all subjects at least as worthy of notice as the partial failure of the potato crop in Ireland. But there was a political object in rebutting the imputation made against the Government that it is disposed to minimise the importance of the last-named calamity, and, apart from the legislative programme announced, it was, perhaps, the most convenient reference to the affairs of Ireland that could have been made. The Parliamentary programme for the session is not only one of the most meagre on record, when measured by the number of the Bills announced, but is absolutely devoid of novelty. The country, however, can well spare sensations, and it will have every reason to be satisfied if even the three Bills, of which alone the Government ventured to speak with confidence, should be carried to a successful issue. These are a Bill for augmenting small owners in Ireland, which is said to be the Bill of last session, divided into two parts, and restricted in its scope in partial accordance with Mr. Parnell's proposals; a tithes Bill; and a Bill for lessening the burden which compulsory education imposes on the poor.

It may be, however, that a surprise is in store for the country. Though the Government ventures to expect little, it is acting with a vigour and concentration of purpose which shows that it is determined to achieve as much as it can; and events seem not unlikely to favour its efforts. The address in reply to the Queen's Speech, which, by a happy innovation, was confined to a simple Resolution of thanks, was carried without amendment; and, on the 29th ultimo, a motion of the Government, demanding the whole time of the House till Christmas, was passed by a large majority. When, too, on

Mr. Balfour introducing the Irish Land Purchase Bill, on the night of the 27th ultimo, Mr. Labouchere moved its rejection, the motion was defeated by a large majority. This, perhaps, was not surprising. What, however, but for unforeseen events, would have been surprising, is that the Irish members, or a considerable section of them, supported the Government.

The fact is that, owing to causes not primarily political, the political situation has suddenly undergone a complete change. The divorce suit brought by Captain O'Shea against his wife, with Mr. Parnell as co-respondent, resulted in a decree for the plaintiff; and, the leader of the Irish party having shown no disposition to tender his resignation, Mr. Gladstone wrote a letter to Mr. Morley, for communication to him, declaring that his continuance in the leadership would, under the circumstances, prove disastrous to the cause of Ireland, and nullify his (Mr. Gladstone's) championship. Though Mr. Gladstone's view of the matter was supported by Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt, as well as by a strong section of the Nationalists, the Irish leader remained unmoved, and the result was that Mr. Gladstone published his letter. After a delay of some days, Mr. Parnell, who seems to have been impressed with an idea that he was being made the victim of a political conspiracy, replied with a manifesto, in which, after declaring the object of Mr. Gladstone's letter to be to influence the party's choice of a leader by claiming a right to veto their selection, he proceeded to divulge, what he described as facts not previously imparted to his colleagues. To wit, in the course of the parleying which took place between himself and Mr. Gladstone in November 1889, the leader of the Opposition proposed to conciliate English opinion by reducing the number of the Irish members at Westminster to thirty-two, and at the same time intimated that the Irish Parliament, when constituted, would not be permitted to settle the land question. Mr. Parnell further alleged that Mr. Morley, before the opening of the present session, offered him the Chief Secretaryship of Ireland in the event of the Liberals coming into power; that he declined this offer, as calculated to compromise the independence of the party; and also that he strongly opposed the proposition to reduce the number of Irish representatives in the British House of Commons. It was not in the nature of things that these allegations should remain unanswered. The reply they elicited from Mr. Gladstone partakes, however, more of the nature of a charge of breach of faith against Mr. Parnell, than of a positive denial. In it he pronounces Mr. Parnell's statements to be entirely inaccurate; but, at the same time, he is careful to minimise their importance, by explaining that

he merely conversed confidentially and informally with Mr. Parnell regarding possible amendments of the Home Rule project of 1886. The impression produced is that Mr. Parnell's account of the conversation, thus admitted to have taken place, is substantially correct, and this impression is partially confirmed by a letter written by Mr. Morley, admitting that the offer of the Chief Secretaryship was actually made on behalf of Mr. Gladstone, but adding that its object was merely to test the sincerity of Mr. Parnell's self-denying ordinance. Whether the statements contained in the manifesto are true or not, the effect of its publication on Mr. Parnell's position must be substantially the same. If the result of the divorce case made his leadership inconvenient, it has now become impossible. The general feeling of indignation which his breach of faith must provoke must, however, be accompanied by a strong sense of the humiliating character of the position in which Mr. Gladstone is placed by Mr. Morley's letter. For the explanation of his motive in offering the Chief Secretaryship to Mr. Parnell convicts him of a device equally unworthy of a statesman and a man of honour.

The Nationalist party have not been slow to mark their sense of the change in the position created by the manifesto. At a meeting held by them on the 2nd instant, an amendment by Mr. Nolan to defer their decision regarding the retirement of their leader until the electors had been consulted in the matter, was defeated by forty-four votes to twenty-nine.

The Catholic hierarchy, which met at the residence of Archbishop Walsh on the 3rd instant, passed a resolution proclaiming that the Irish Episcopate considered Mr. Parnell morally unfit for the leadership of his party, and, on the following Sunday, a manifesto of the Irish Bishops, condemning him, was read in the Churches throughout Ireland.

On the 5th instant, Mr. Gladstone, who, in the meantime, had refused to hold any further communication with Mr. Parnell, had two conferences with the other members of the Irish party, and subsequently, after consulting his colleagues, he informed them in writing that, while he still hoped to pass a Bill which would meet the just claims of Ireland with the approval of Great Britain, he must decline to state his intentions, pending the settlement of the question of their leadership. A meeting of the party, at which Mr. Parnell was present, was held on the 7th to consider this reply. After an angry debate, at which no agreement was arrived at, Messrs. Sexton and Healy, with forty-three others, retired and held a separate meeting, at which Mr. Justin MacCarthy was elected Chairman, the minority at the same time confirming their election of Mr. Parnell, and in the House of Commons,

the following day, Mr. Macarthy occupied Mr. Parnell's seat.

Mr. Parnell declares his intention of appealing to the country: but it is not clear how the country can pronounce its verdict pending a general election. However events may ultimately shape themselves, the immediate result is to take the heart out of the Opposition. A series of unexpected circumstances have, in short, combined to favour the Government, who at present seem likely to have things very much their own way. The friendly, not to say enthusiastic, reception of Mr. Balfour in Connemara and Donegal shows, moreover, that the Irish peasantry are beginning to feel 'that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush,' as they may well do when the former is offered them free, gratis, and for nothing, for their own sole behoof; while, if they ever get the latter, not only will it probably be at a heavy cost, but the prize will have to be shared with the agitators.

The extravagant expectations entertained in some quarters as to the probable effect of the American Silver Bill have been signally falsified by the event. After rising rapidly to close upon 55d. per oz., the price went down with a run till it almost touched the lowest level of last year; and, though there has since been a partial recovery, there is probably very little chance, in the absence of fresh legislation, of our again seeing the high rates of the middle of September. The collapse was partly the result of an inevitable re-action from speculative prices, and partly of the existence of unexpectedly large accumulations of metal, which those prices attracted to the market. But it was aggravated, in the first instance, by an exceptional scarcity of money, due in some measure to the operation of the M'Kinley Tariff Act. The fall in the value of the metal was naturally accompanied by a corresponding depreciation of silver securities, attended by consequences which were the more disastrous, that independent speculation had previously forced them far above their real value; and this depreciation culminated in a commercial crisis in New York, of extreme severity, which led to a fresh relapse in the price of the metal itself.

If the silver legislation of the Republicans has failed to satisfy a large section of the American public, their tariff legislation has been still more unfortunate. The rise in prices which followed the passing of the M'Kinley Bill, has ruined their popularity with all classes of the community. The elections for the new House of Representatives afforded the country an opportunity of expressing its feelings, of which it has not failed to avail itself, the result being to give the Democrats an overwhelming majority. With such an

unmistakable mandate to justify them, the Democrats are not likely to let the grass grow under their feet ; and one of the first acts of the new Legislature will probably be an extensive revision of the tariff in the direction of free trade. At all events, this is the general expectation ; and, as it is extremely unlikely that, with such a contingency looming in the future, capitalists will venture to invest money in the establishment of manufactures which would be nipped in the bud by a repeal of the new duties, the public will have the satisfaction of paying the increased prices in the interim, for no purpose but that of adding to the already excessive lock-up of money in the Treasury vaults.

The effect of the tremendous fall in the price of Argentine and other silver securities has been severely felt in London, where certain of the great banking houses had saddled themselves with a dangerous load of this kind of paper. As ill-luck would have it, the Russian Government chose this inopportune juncture suddenly to withdraw deposits to the extent of five millions sterling from one of the houses in question—that of Messrs. Baring Brothers. Fortunately, there was no question of the inherent soundness of their position ; and a number of the great bankers and capitalists, headed by the Banks of England and France, taking a far-sighted view of the situation, combined to back them with a guarantee fund which enabled them to avoid a forced liquidation. The crisis has thus been tided over, and a crash of unprecedented magnitude averted. But there is too much reason to fear that, owing to a long-continued policy of propping-up one rotten support by another only slightly less rotten, the whole financial fabric is in a state which no unbiased expert would pronounce sound, and which, in the absence of a sweeping catastrophe, necessitating complete reconstruction, only long time and heroic prudence will restore to a condition of security.

No one could have read Mr. Stanley's book, "In Darkest Africa," with a critical eye, without feeling that the true story of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition remained to be told. Every such reader must have seen that, if his account of the opportunities of the rear column was accurate, its failure and ultimate destruction was inadequately explained by the strange tissue of mystery and innuendo with which he enveloped the subject. The account was, in effect, a challenge to the officers of the rear column, or their relatives, to vindicate their conduct ; and the challenge has been promptly taken up. First, the brother of Major Barttelot, against whom Mr. Stanley's arraignment was chiefly directed, published that officer's journal and letters, with a commentary of his own ;

and Messrs. Troup and Ward have since published independent narratives. In Major Barttelot's work the entire responsibility for the wreck of the rear column is thrown on Stanley, who is charged with having, for his own selfish purposes, left them stranded at Yambuya, with impossible instructions, and under conditions which, in case of Tippoo Tip failing to fulfil his agreement to supply them with carriage, rendered disaster inevitable. This indictment, which is supported, as regards the main facts, by the narratives of Messrs. Troup and Ward, has drawn from Stanley, not so much a vindication of his own action, as a counter-charge against Major Barttelot and Mr. Jameson of the foulest kind, the former being accused of a series of acts of insane folly and cruelty, so atrocious as to have made the killing of him no murder, and the latter of a crime almost too revolting for belief. Major Barttelot is charged, among other things, with flogging and kicking natives to death, with stabbing one chief and seeking to poison another, and with systematic beating and torturing ; while the version given of the circumstances under which he was himself shot, conflicts, in most essential details, with that recorded by Stanley in his book, as the result of careful investigation on the spot. Of Mr. Jameson it is asserted that in order to put to the test a statement that the natives of certain tribes were addicted to cannibalism, he purchased a young girl, to be brutally killed, and cooked and eaten in his presence, occupying himself, during the operation, in making sketches of the scene. Mr. Bonny has also published a statement confirmatory, in many particulars, of the above account. As to the character of the evidence on which most of these positive and circumstantial allegations rest, the narrators generally either maintain a discreet silence, or speak with a vagueness little more informing. But, in the worst case of all, that of the cannibal story, they are more explicit, and we are told that it is based on the sworn testimony of a dismissed Syrian interpreter, who, when cross-questioned on the subject on a previous occasion, had declared it to be false. The fact that Mr. Jameson's diary actually contained sketches of the horrible scene, is gravely advanced as a proof of the truth of the charge, though, in a letter to his wife, he had given an explanation of the incident which would carry conviction to any unbiased mind, *viz.*, that the sketch represented a scene of which he was an unwilling witness, and that it was made from memory after the occurrence.

In purely Continental politics, the most important events of the quarter are the change of ministry at Lisbon, and the great victory of the Italian Government in the general elections, which have resulted in a majority of 410 for Signor Crispi.

The negotiations for an understanding with Italy on the African question have so far proved abortive, the chief point in dispute being, it is believed, the claim of that Power to occupy Kassala. The Portuguese Cabinet having been unable, in the face of strong popular opposition, to make up its mind to ratify the recent agreement with Great Britain, Lord Salisbury has consented to the re-establishment of the *status quo ante*, with certain modifications, for a period of six months. This, it is stated, will nullify for the present the concession obtained by Mr. Colquhoun in the Manica country; but, in the meantime, British prospectors and gold diggers are flocking into that territory, and the Portuguese are probably not in a position to prevent them. Among the topics touched upon by Lord Salisbury at the Guildhall banquet, was the approaching visit of the Czarewitch to this country, which he pronounced a favourable omen for the peace of the world, and for a good understanding among the nations. The most general view of the matter, we fancy, is that the event possesses no political significance whatever.

Indian affairs, during the last few months, may be briefly chronicled. The Viceroy returned to the Presidency on the 9th instant, after a prolonged tour in the Panjab and Rajputana, in the course of which he visited several of the more important Native States. During his progress His Excellency delivered an unusually large number of speeches; but none of them call for any special remark.

The operations against the Lushai tribes concerned in the murder of Captain Browne, and the recent attacks on our posts at Aijal and Changsil, were commenced early in October, by the middle of which month a larger number of villages had been attacked and destroyed without any loss on our side. On the 16th ultimo, a column, consisting of two hundred of the Cachar military police under Lieutenant Cole, with Mr. McCabe as Political officer, left Aijal for Kalkom's village, which they attacked on the following day, with the co-operation of seventy men of the 40th B. I. and 20 of the military police from Changsil under Lieutenant Watson. The Lushais were completely taken by surprise, and, after losing ten of their number, fled from the village, the greater part of which was burnt. On the 21st a detachment under Lieutenant Cole captured Tongula's village, and, on the following day, Kalkom surrendered unconditionally. Several other prominent chiefs, including Leenkhunga, who was the author of the attack on Captain Browne, subsequently gave themselves up; and the probability is that all organised opposition is at an end.

The prediction we made three months ago, that the shares of most of the Bengal Gold Companies would be at a discount

long before mining operations commenced on a practical scale, has been fulfilled to the letter, those of only one concern being at present quoted above par, and most of the rest being unsaleable at any price.

The Factory Commission appointed by the Government of India in September last, for the purpose of ascertaining the views and requirements of the operatives as to the restrictions to be imposed on labour in factories, before proceeding further with the Bill to amend the Indian Factory Act of 1881, now before the Council, have submitted a Report which will do much to strengthen the hands of the Government in combating the agitation that has been set on foot in England in favour of a closer assimilation of the Indian to the English factory laws.

The conclusions of the Commissioners have been arrived at after visiting 34 factories and examining 96 operatives in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Cawnpore and Calcutta. The first point on which they were desired to report was whether the limitation of the hours of work for women to eleven was proper and sufficient, and whether the female operatives themselves desired this, or any other, limitation. To the first question, the reply of the Commissioners is in the affirmative; but, with reference to the fact that the effect of enforcing the limitation in the case of women working with moving machinery at Ahmedabad and elsewhere would be the displacement of female by male labour, they recommend that the Local Government should be vested with powers to exempt female operatives from the operation of the rule in case of necessity. With regard to the second point, the Commissioners report that they have nowhere found that the female operatives desire that the present hours of work, *viz.*, from day-light to dusk, should be shortened.

On the question whether it is advisable that a distinction should be made between young persons and adults, the Commissioners report in favour of raising the limit of childhood, under the Act, from 12 to 14, and dispensing with any such distinction as that suggested.

As to the question of the hours of work for children, they express a strong opinion that the limitation to nine hours proposed in the Bill is insufficient, except where the shift system is in force, and recommend that in all other cases a maximum limit of seven hours should be imposed, with certain proviso, which would reduce the average all the year round to about six hours.

On the question of holidays, they strongly recommend that, in accordance with the unanimous desire of the operatives themselves, one day of rest in seven should be made obligatory in the case of both males and females, except

where, for technical reasons, the nature of the work requires that it should be continuous, and that this day should be Sunday, unless a native festival has been kept as a holiday during the previous week.

As regards the question of limiting the hours of work in the case of adult male operatives, they report that such limitation is undesirable and that the operatives, with few exceptions, object to it.

To the question whether the male operatives desire a compulsory stoppage of work at midday, they reply in the affirmative, and recommend that such a stoppage for a full half-hour should be generally imposed, except where the shift system prevails.

The Commissioners conclude their Report with a strong expression of their conviction of the "vast and far-reaching benefits which the people of India are deriving from the development and prosperity of the great industries which we have seen in our tour through the country," and they add, that, in their judgment, it would be a great calamity if, by any injudicious recommendations or unnecessary restrictions, their prosperity were endangered.

The official changes during the Quarter have been more than usually important. Sir Steuart Bayley, who, if report speaks truly, has never been quite at his ease in his high office, having accepted the Political Secretaryship at the India Office, the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal has been conferred on Sir C. Elliot, the late Public Works Member of Council, Sir Chas. Crosthwaite succeeding to the latter post, and Mr. Mackenzie being transferred from the Chief Commissionership of the Central Provinces to that of Burmah. The resignation of Lord Connemara has deprived Madras of one of the most energetic, and, in some respects, one of the best Governors who have ever held office in this country. His Excellency, who is succeeded by Lord Wenlock, a comparatively unknown man, made over charge of his office to Mr. Garstin, the Senior Member of Council, on the 2nd instant, and embarked for Colombo on the 7th.

The Scotchmen in Calcutta celebrated the anniversary of St. Andrew with the usual dinner at the Town Hall on the 30th ultimo, when Mr. J. L. Mackay, the chairman, in the course of a speech of more than usual power, delivered one of the most crushing attacks that have yet been made on the income tax and the breach of faith involved in its retention. The Lieutenant-Governor elect was among the speakers on the occasion, but he showed no disposition to take his hearers into his confidence.

The obituary of the Quarter includes the honoured names of Sir Rivers Thompson, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal

who died suddenly of pneumonia at Gibraltar, and Sir Barnes Peacock, formerly Chief Justice of Bengal, and one of the ablest, soundest, and most fearless judges who ever sat on the Indian Bench.

J. W. F.

10th December 1890.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report by the Board of Revenue on the Revenue Administration of the North-Western Provinces for the Revenue year 1888-89, ending 30th September 1889.

FROM this State paper it appears that the "balance of land revenue borne on the roll was materially less than in the preceding year—Rs. 2,48,134, as compared with Rs. 3,21,813. Rs. 1,04,563 were remitted against Rs. 2,02,637 in 1887-88; and the collections were Rs. 61,229 as against Rs. 55,135. The recoverable balance at the end of the year was, however, Rs. 82,342, as compared with Rs. 64,041, and the Lieutenant-Governor regrets to notice that the balances in the attached estates in the Agra district were allowed to increase under circumstances which the Board cannot consider creditable to the Collector's management. Separate orders have been passed upon the special report submitted by the Board. Nearly the whole of the arrears in the Farukhabad, Mainpuri and Etah districts are under suspension in the valleys of the Káli Nadi and Burhganga, where the cultivation has deteriorated from excessive rainfall in recent years. Special officers were deputed last winter for the inspection of this area and the revision of the assessment where losses have been serious, but their inquiries will not be complete for another season. Meanwhile the Zemindárs of the tract are being liberally treated in the remission and suspension of revenue upon the detailed preliminary recommendations of the Board, and the Lieutenant Governor proposes to visit it in the course of the ensuing winter. The heavy balances in Pilibhit, Rs. 6,760, are not sufficiently explained. The Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun has been instructed to give a detailed account of the arrears in his district, where their causes and character are of special interest in consequence of the recent revision of the assessment there. The arrears in Sháhjahánpur are of old standing (1883), but the Board report that they were due from deteriorated villages, and it has been necessary to remit them."

*Report on the Administration of the Stamp Department for the
three years ending 31st March 1890.*

THE financial results of the working of this Department are thus summarized by Mr. H. J. S. Cotton in a resolution on the Report:—

YEAR.	COURT FEES UNDER ACT I OF 1879.			COURT FEES UNDER ACT VII OF 1870.			TOTAL.		
	Receipts. ¹	Refunds and other Charges.	Net Revenue.	Receipts.	Refunds and other Charges.	Net Revenue.	Receipts.	Charges.	Net Revenue.
1886-87	34,72,802	1,89 293	32,83,509	99,89,759	4,21 010	95,68,749	1,34,62,561	6,10,303	1,28,52,258
1887-88	35,51,253	2,55,242	32,96,011	1,02,64,782	3,60 835	99,03,947	1,38,16,035	6 16,077	1,31,99,958
1888-89	37,50,871	2 76 042	34,74,829	1,00,88,114	3 39 661	97,48,453	1,38,38,985	6,15,703	1,32,23,282
1889-90	38,88,945	2,88 689	36,00,256	1,03,48,824	3,39,555	1,00,09,269	1,42,37,769	6,28,244	1,36,09,525
Average of 1887-88 to 1888-89	37.39,356	2,73,324	34,57,032	1,02,33,907	3,46,684	98,87,223	1,39,64,263	6,20,008	1,33,44,255

The gross average annual revenue collected under both the Acts during the three years under review was Rs. 1,39,64,263 against Rs. 1,34,62,561 in 1886-87. Both judicial and non judicial stamps contributed to the increase; the total realizations during 1889-90 exceeded those of any previous year. The average receipts were highest in Calcutta (Rs. 19,51,882) and lowest in Singbham (Rs. 10,833). The incidence is highest throughout East and Central Bengal, where trade is brisk and the population most prosperous. The general incidence of stamp revenue on the population of Bengal, estimated at 66 millions, is 3 annas 4½ pies per head.

Report on the External Land Trade of the Punjab for the year 1889-90.

THE total foreign trade of the province has increased by 18 per cent. The rise is almost exclusively in the trade with countries on the west and north-west of the Punjab. An increase of 55 per cent. in the trade with Kabul is held to be, in great measure, due to the tranquillity of Afghanistan during the year under report. An apparent diminution in the trade with Kashmir is accounted for by the inclusion of 30 lakhs of silver, transmitted to the Punjab for special purposes, in the figures of last year. Exports have increased. The Financial Commissioner, Punjab, thinks that the trade with this country is reviving. In the case of Ladakh, on the other hand, no satisfactory explanation of a decrease of 18 per cent. in imports and 75 per cent. in exports is forthcoming. Trade with Chinese Tibet, in spite of a fall in the exports thither, has nearly tripled itself. The most striking feature in the figures of the import trade is a great increase in the imports of ghee, which have risen from 17 to 25 lakhs in value. The rise is general. The export trade in Indian Tea amounted to Rs. 3,99,097, an increase of a lakh on last year's figures.

Annual Report on the Government Cinchona Plantation and Factory in Bengal for the year 1889-90.

EXPENDITURE, Rs. 69,196-10-0. Result, 304,705 lbs. of dry bark. Net cost of each pound, 3 annas 602 pie.

The quinine manufactured cost Rs. 11 $\frac{1}{8}$, and the febrifuge Rs. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ per lb. Both were treated by the new fusel oil process, which Dr. King pronounces a complete success.

Statistics, it seems, tend to show that past years' "excessive exportation" of Cinchona bark from Ceylon is now beginning to fall off. That rival to the Darjeeling manufacture having suicided—as the Yankees would put it—the price of the Indian product is expected to rise.

Report on the Excise Administration of the Punjab during the year 1889-90.

FROM the Report on the Excise Administration of the Punjab during the year 1889-90, it appears that a lakh-and-a-half more of income was realized than in 1888-89, and that the increase was general over all heads of receipt, with the simple exception of "Acreage duty on poppy cultivation." Further, it seem that, that the Financial Commissioner has managed to reconcile his figures with those of the Accountant-General under the heading "Receipts," and that, in Sir James Lyall's opinion, it will be desirable in future reports to do likewise with the heading "Expenditure."

In country spirits there has been an increase in consumption of about 15,000 gallons.

If this increase signified an absolute increase in drinking, it could not be regarded with much complacency. But in an interesting table Mr. Dane has shown that more than four-fifths of the whole occurred in districts where illicit distillation is known to be common, and by far the larger portion of the remainder in districts where illicit distillation is known to exist. Now, in most of these districts, during the past year, special attention has been devoted to the repression of illicit stills, and it seems a fair inference that these repressive measures have had their effect, and that the increased consumption of spirits which paid excise was accompanied by a falling-off in the preparation of spirits which paid none. Unfortunately illicit distillers furnish no statistics.

Unfortunately, also, in some districts liquor shops are too many, in others too few. "It is of course most perverse to establish a shop where it is not required. On the other hand, to compel a man to walk forty miles in order to procure a glass of liquor is to put a premium on illicit stills." The Lieutenant-Governor sensibly holds that the determination of the just medium is a matter almost wholly dependent on local knowledge.

Triennial Report on the Administration of the Registration Department in Bengal for the official years 1887-88, 1888-89, and 1889-90.

FROM Mr. Holmwood's Report on the working of Act I (B.C.) of 1876 (for the voluntary registration of Mahomedan marriages and divorces), we gather that during the year 1888-89 there was decrease of 244 in the total number of ceremonies registered. This decrease is entirely in the number of marriages registered, the number of divorces and *kholas* having increased. So small is the interest taken in the working of the Act that the death of the Marriage Registrar at Palong in the Furreedpore district was not even reported at Head-quarters.

In Rungpore the Act is said to be little used, because registration affords increased facilities to the Zemindars for extorting "marchas," or marriage dues, from their Mahomedan tenants. It is also alleged that the Mahomedan Marriage Registrars themselves extort illegal nuzzerana.

Report on the Income Tax Administration for the year 1889-90.

ACCORDING to the returns of the Financial Commissioner—which are for once in a way "in substantial agreement upon this point with those of the Accountant-General"—last year's collections amounted to Rs. 11,06,438, an increase of more than half a lakh over the previous year's realizations, and a result pronounced by the Revenue Secretary very satisfactory, and largely due to the fact that District Officers are beginning to understand that income tax administration is essentially a matter of detail.

In bygone years details seem to have been a good deal neglected in some districts, e.g., in Umballa collections have increased by more than 900 per cent. since 1886-87, and even, as compared with 1888-89, there is an increase of 350 per cent. in the year under review.

The Revenue Secretary is of opinion that, "unless the circumstances are altogether peculiar, it would seem certain that assessment work under Part I must have been a good deal neglected in past years."

Annual Report on Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies, 1889.

DURING the year under report Colonial Emigration from Bengal was marked by unusual activity, consequent on the necessity the Colonies lay under of making up for small importations in past years. The number of adults actually despatched was 10,041, as against 6,544 in 1888 and 4,563 in 1887.

The two leading districts of Shahabad and Benares maintained their places on the list, the former having supplied 2,630, and the latter 2,085 registrations. The district of the 24-Pergunnahs, which shows on paper the largest number of registrations, cannot be compared with the others, owing to the fact that a large proportion of the recruiting in that district is carried on among coolies brought to Calcutta by unlicensed emigration agents, under pretence that they are destined for Assam. The Lieutenant-Governor agrees with the Protector that this practice is objectionable, inasmuch as it is a breach

in spirit of the Colonial Emigration Act, which provides for all emigrants being registered for the Colonies in the district of recruitment. It does not appear, however, that under the law, as it at present stands, there is any means of remedying the evil."

Thirty-eight lepers were returned to India from the Colonies in 1889—18 from Demarara, 12 from Mauritius. We are glad to note that the Lieutenant-Governor "is not inclined to accept the position that Colonies should be allowed to return emigrants who have contracted the disease during the period of their expatuation."

Twenty-second Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 31st December 1889.

FROM this Report it appears that "the total number of births registered of both sexes during 1889 was 1,629,210 against 1,687,439 during 1888, giving a birth-rate of 36.93 per mille against 38.25 for the previous year, the lowest on record since 1881. The recorded birth-rate varied from 50.26 in Moradabad to 25.00 in Mainpuri. The total number of recorded deaths in 1889 was 1,372,269, against 1,327,113 in 1888, the rates being 31.11 and 30.08 per mille respectively. The increase in the death-rate seems in part to have been due to the greater prevalence of cholera and small-pox in the year under report."

The death-rate from cholera rose from 4.2 to 10.9 per mille, and the total number of deaths was 48,494. In the Resolution appended to the Report it is written :—

The re-appearance of cholera in Kumaun since 1887 is a fact which needs your careful attention. After 1879 the disease was little known there till 1884, when the death-rate was 9 per thousand ; in 1887, after two years' disappearance, it rose to 4.6, in 1889 to 14.1, and again this year it has visited Kumaun in a virulent and persistent form. Arrangements are being made for an improved water-supply at the railway terminus of Káthgodám and at Haldwáni, in the immediate neighbourhood ; but the facilities of communication between Naini Tal and the plains since the railway to Bareilly was opened, and the constant communication between the hills and the Bhábar at their base, have probably given increased occasion to the spread of the disease, and require from the Kumaun Civil and Medical Officers increased vigilance against its inroads. With the exception of a few cases of cholera at the Mág Mela at Allahabad, no outbreak of cholera occurred at any of the principal fairs held in these provinces during the last three years.

Report on the Administration of the Registration Department, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the three years 1887-88-1889-90.

WE quote from the Resolution accompanying this triennial Report :—

The number of offices open and officers employed on the work of registration during the period under review was—

	Offices.			Officers.		
	1887-88.	1888-89.	1889-90.	1887-88	1888-89.	1889-90.
	345	347	347			
<i>Ex-officio—</i>						
Registrars		25		25	26	26
Sub-Registrars, (Tahsildárs, N. W. P.)	... 172			172		137
<i>Non-official—</i>						
Registrars (Oudh) ... 4				4	4	4
Sub-Registrars (Oudh) ... 102				102	102	102
Special do. 9				9	9	8
Departmental do. (N.W.P.), 14				15		50
Total.. 345	347	347		Total ... 326	328	327

Thus during 1889-90 there were 20 more offices open than officers employed : the charge of two offices having been entrusted to one officer in 20 instances. Considerable advance has been made in replacing the agency of the Tahsildár in the North-Western Provinces by departmental Sub-Registrars, in accordance with the orders passed in 1885, the total number of non-officials now employed in the Department being 164, or 50 per cent. It is satisfactory to learn that so far the reports received regarding the work of the new class of officers are favorable, but it is yet too early to form any definite conclusions as to the probable success of the scheme.

Report on the Financial Results of the Income Tax Administration in the Lower Provinces for the year 1889-90.

IN his Report on the financial results of the Income Tax Administration in the Lower Provinces for 1889-90, Mr. Gupta draws attention to an anomaly deserving attention from Chambers of Commerce and others whom it less directly concerns :—

The receipts in the Lower Provinces from the income-tax bring into most marked relief the overwhelming preponderance of the capital as compared with all other parts of the province. Under the head of Excise, Calcutta, with a population of only about 1 per cent. of the province, contributes nearly 20 per cent. of the revenue. Under the head of Stamps, it contributes about 15 per cent., but, when the test of the income-tax is applied, it is found to contribute Rs. 16,95,163 out of Rs. 34,36,737, or within a minute

fraction of 50 per cent. Of course this is largely due to the exemption of agricultural incomes from the tax ; but after making every allowance for this, it is surely noteworthy that one-half of the entire income-tax of the province should be paid in the metropolis alone.

Report on the Administration of the Salt Department for the year 1889-90.

MR. GUPTA thinks the figures he has to deal with clearly show that "the action of the Cheshire Salt Syndicate has had a most prejudicial effect on the Liverpool salt trade, and has given a stimulus to imports from other places, notably Hamburg and Aden."

Review of the Revenue Administration of the Province of Oudh for the year ending 30th September 1889.

MR. RAINY, and responsible politicians who pose at East India Association Meetings, as saviours of oppressed Indian Landlords, are recommended to peruse paragraph 19 of this Report, which runs :—

The tables which give the statistics of the processes employed for the realization of the revenue indicate that very little pressure had to be used with those who were dilatory in payment. One small plot of alluvial land in Hardoi, the property of a non-resident owner, was sold for persistent arrears ; one small estate in Una was farmed to the mortgagee ; and in two cases in Hardoi transfer of an insolvent share to a solvent co-parcener was required. But in no instance was sequestration necessary, and in the minor processes of attachment of property, and of arrest of the defaulters, there was unexpected decrease. Arrests diminished from 262 to 225, notably in Hardoi ; no imprisonment at all was made for default ; sale of attached property fell from 40 cases to 29. Even attachment of the estate in arrears of revenue was resorted to in only six cases.

Proceedings of the Maine Historical Society, Madras, April—September 1890.

THE readable part of this advertisement commences on page 17 with a paper on *Chingleput and the Village Community*, by Mr. John Adam.

It is resurrection of a chapter of more or less antique local history (with morals attached of Sir H. W. Maine's invention), and possibly it is not without interest for local antiquaries.

Report on the Police of the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for the year 1889.

IT is not only police mistakes and failures of police organization, etc., etc., that are responsible for poor police results in Bengal. We find the Lieutenant-Governor, in his Resolution on Mr. Veasey's Report for 1889, writing :—

The Lieutenant-Governor concurs with Mr. Veasey in his opinion that Bengal does not " appear to advantage as regards judicial results, and the figures given under test A4 must represent a large number of failures of justice. The high standard of proof demanded, the latitude allowed to the advocates of accused persons, and the dilatory procedure so much in vogue, are all obstacles well-known and to be reckoned with in these provinces."

Paragraph 14 of the Resolution runs :—

The results of sessions trials were unsatisfactory in the extreme, the percentage of convictions for the whole province falling from 56·0 in 1887 and 51·7 in 1888 to 49·1 For the first time for many years the chances of the escape of an accused person who has been formally committed for trial by an investigating officer appear to be greater than the chances of his conviction. For this result the districts of Pubna and Bogra appear to be very largely responsible, and the Lieutenant-Governor cannot but think that causes other than the alleged misconduct of the police must have contributed to the failures of justice that undoubtedly occurred. The percentage fell in Bogra from 51·7 in 1888 to 22·2 in 1889, and in Pubna from 48·9 to 10·0; and it is worthy of notice that the Jail Report for the past year shows that Pubna headed the list of releases on appeal with a percentage of 22·76, while Bogra was not much better with a percentage of 12·11. These two districts are included in one Sessions charge.

Results in murder cases sent for trial were " very bad " in most divisions, e.g., in the two jury districts of Burdwan and Hughli there was not a single conviction in twenty cases. In the Presidency Division 63 persons were tried for " other murders," but only 8 were convicted. As the result of ten cases in Dacca, only 2 persons were convicted. In the Patna Division 9 persons were convicted, and 48 acquitted, in 39 murders. " But these are only examples of the general rule of results in 1889." The Lieutenant-Governor agrees with Mr. Veasey in thinking that most of the failures of justice are due to the police attaching too much weight to confessions, and the Courts too little weight to circumstantial evidence.

Here is another quotation :—

In perusing the brief accounts of important cases given by the Inspector-General, it is melancholy to note that many were due to quarrels between husbands and their youthful wives. In Hughli a school pundit, afterwards shown to be insane, hacked his wife, a girl of 13, about the head with a *katari*, because she would not or could not satisfy his desires. In Nadiya a husband killed his wife, a sickly girl of 12, for refusing to cohabit. In Maldah a man throttled his child-wife, aged 11, because she could not satisfy his lust. He was treated with extraordinary leniency by the Judge,

who gave him two months' imprisonment for hurt—a sentence enhanced by the High Court to two years for culpable homicide. In Hughli, again, a young wife of 15 refused to cohabit with her husband, and died from the effects of the savagery with which that husband and his two brothers branded her in and about her private parts.

These are cases that happen to have come to light in spite of the darkness in which such sins against humanity are sedulously shrouded by native society at large. It seems to us that when Bengalee men of light and leading decline to recognize the claims of humanity to be considered in the construction of marriage contracts, a civilized government is in duty bound to *enforce* recognition of such claims: to *compel* abstinence from bestiality; to hinder, if it cannot altogether prevent, the national demoralization adumbrated in the paragraph quoted above. A faint shadow, be it remembered, of what is happening day by day in our midst under the sanctions of social approval, and orthodox respectabilities.

Report on the Administration of the Customs Department in the Bengal Presidency for the official year 1889-90.

FROM this Report we gather that:—

Since the year 1882-83, in which the reduction in the salt duty and remission of all import duties, except those leviable on arms and ammunition, liquors and opium, took effect, the revenue exhibited a falling off and rise in alternate years; but in the year under report the increase attained during the year 1888-89 was maintained, and the net receipts show an advance of Rs. 60,791, or '2 per cent. The whole of this increase was due to the larger realisations from import duty on general merchandise, the receipts from export duty and the import duty on salt having both declined, the former by Rs. 47,637 or 29 per cent., and the latter by Rs. 1,54,736, or '7 per cent.

The increase in the Import duty noticed above was Rs. 2,63,164, or 12·4 per cent., and was almost wholly contributed by American kerosine oil, the duty on which rose by 2½ lakhs, or 43 per cent.; on the other hand, there was a decline in the duty levied on spirits, *viz.*,—brandy, rum, and gin.

The decrease in the duty on exports is due mainly to smaller shipments of rice from Calcutta and Chittagong, owing to the extremely high price of the article which checked its exportation.

In the ports of Balasore, Cuttack, Pooree and Backergunge, improvement in net revenue is noticeable.

As usual the bulk of trade is carried on by the United Kingdom, the proportion of trade absorbed by that country being no less than 61·71 per cent. of the whole trade of Bengal. Opium transactions give China the second place. The United States stand third on the register.

Trade with Germany continues to show considerable increase.

Report on the Financial Results of the Excise Administration in the Lower Provinces for the year 1889-90.

PERHAPS Mr. Caine will be glad to read between the lines of this Report, and to think that his Bull-in-a-China-shop anti-liquor campaign has led up to substantial strengthening of the hands of the Excise Administration in Bengal :—

"The dual appointments of Assessor-Inspectors employed partly on excise and partly on income tax work have now been abolished, and, as regard excise, a Sub-Inspector has been appointed in the room of each. As vacancies occur in the ranks of Inspectors of Excise, or as these officers are otherwise provided for, they are being replaced by Sub-Inspectors receiving from Rs. 50 to Rs 70 per mensem. By these means a larger number of Sub-Inspectors can be employed, while, at the same time, it is found that the duties of detection, prevention, and inspection of retail shops and outstills can be as well performed by Sub-Inspectors as by Inspectors."

The financial results of the year's working show a decrease in the Revenue of Rs. 4,15,547 and an increase in the Charges of Rs. 44,974.

We make the following quotation from the Lieutenant-Governor's Resolution in the Report :—

There are at present 17* districts in which the excise control is placed in the hands of a Special Deputy Collector, who is also made responsible for the administration of the income tax, but who is, as a general rule, not entrusted with other revenue or any magisterial functions.

* One Special Deputy Collector is employed as Personal Assistant to the Excise Commissioner.

Mr. Westmacott speaks very favourably of this arrangement, and observes that with few exceptions the excise administration in the 26 districts, in which it has been entrusted to officers who have much other work to do, has been greatly inferior to that in districts where there are special officers, and he would be glad if Government could place more special officers at his disposal. This view is not altogether accepted by the Board, who are not satisfied that the appointment of a special officer has always resulted in better work, and also point out that the deputation of an officer to excise duties alone is only beneficial when the excise work of the district is such as to occupy the whole of his time during the whole of the year; and add that it has come to their knowledge that in several districts in which these special officers are employed, the Collectors do not think that they have work enough to occupy the whole of their time, and wish to employ them on other duties. The question is one of considerable practical difficulty, and it is not easy to reconcile the conflicting claims of the head of a department, who naturally contends that the whole of the services of a staff of officers whose salaries are entirely defrayed from his own budget should be placed exclusively at his disposal, with those of district officers who are more interested in the efficiency of their general administration than in that of any particular department, and would gladly utilise the excise officer on general duties whenever necessity arises for doing so. It appears to the Lieutenant Governor that the solution of this difficulty can only depend on the actual facts in each case. It is desirable that these Deputy Collectors should be employed on judicial duties: so far His Honor accepts Mr. Westmacott's position: but if in

point of fact a special excise officer's time is not fully employed on excise in any district, it is the duty of the Excise Commissioner to raise no objection to his being employed on general miscellaneous and revenue work so long as excise is not neglected. The pressure of the general administration in all districts is now so great that it is imperatively necessary to insist on the utilisation of all Deputy Collectors and Magistrates to the utmost of their power. Where the whole time of an Excise Deputy Collector is employed for the whole year on excise work, there is nothing left to be said; but where he is not so employed, his services must be fully utilised in the district where he serves.

Triennial Report on the Working of the Charitable Dispensaries under the Government of Bengal for the years 1887, 1888 and 1889.

THE total number of dispensaries in Bengal has increased from 234 in 1886 to 261 in 1889. The interest taken in them by Municipalities and District Boards is favourably noticed by the Inspector-General; but he is not so well pleased with the indifference shown by many local committees to local dispensaries. The Lieutenant-Governor, we note, "is of opinion that the individuality of the medical officers attached to the various dispensaries has much to do with this, but would at the same time impress on the Chairman and members of local bodies the importance of supervision and encouragement in the case of institutions of such practical usefulness as these, and would remind them that the remarks recorded by unofficial visitors in the inspection-books provided for the purpose" are often of the greatest service to the authorities in remedying defects and detecting abuses.

On the subject of in-door patients Dr. Hilson remarks:—

"The native of India, when sick, prefers to be treated at his own house, and at such a time will not leave his family if it can possibly be avoided—a characteristic which seems to be more strongly marked in Bengal than elsewhere. The desire is only natural, and he cannot be blamed for it; but it seems to me that one cause of it is to be found in the very limited provision of separate accommodation for the families of patients at dispensaries, and this is a point well worth the attention of Municipal Committees and others interested in these institutions. In the Punjab and North-Western Provinces many of the dispensaries have a few rooms apart from the main building, which are reserved for the accommodation of well-to-do patients and those who bring relatives with them, and they are largely taken advantage of."

Sir Steuart Bayley would be glad to see the above proposal carried out, as he has no doubt that the defect pointed out by the Inspector-General is a serious one.

The increase in the number of out-door patients is held to be very satisfactory, and to speak well for the improved management and popularity of the charitable dispensaries in the mofussil. In them very few cases of small-pox are treated. Cholera is dealt with in all such institutions; but they are not

sufficiently large or adequately equipped to deal with anything approaching to an epidemic of this disease. The number of cases of malarial fever increased from 202,933 in 1887 to 232,582 in 1889. The disease is most prevalent in the Burdwan, Presidency, and Rajshahye Divisions.

Very few lepers resort to charitable dispensaries. The increase in the number of surgical operations is held to be very satisfactory. The Lieutenant-Governor agrees with Dr. Hilson in thinking that successful operative surgery is greatly appreciated by the poorer classes, and that the performance of major operations by qualified Assistant Surgeons adds much to the popularity of mofussil dispensaries.

*Final Report of Revised Settlement, Hoshiárpur District, 1887-84.
By Captain J. A. L. Montgomery, Settlement Officer.*

WE have to thank Major J. A. L. Montgomery for a choice collection of proverbial sayings current in the Hoshiárpur District, and illustrative of the conditions of life and society obtaining there and thereabouts. They are inserted by way of an appendix to a much informing final Report of revised settlement in that district, "one of the most fully developed and prosperous in the Punjab."

The new assessment of the whole of the district with which this Report deals (amounting to Rs. 4,71,500) was brought into effect from the autumn of 1884.

Of the total revenue Rs. 1,00,000 are assigned in *jágirs* and *máfis*. The distribution of the assessment inside the estates was evidently made with much care, and this has doubtless conduced towards the success with which the settlement is working. It must not be supposed, however, that there are no points in the settlement which require the special attention of the Collector. On the contrary, the Settlement Officer has shown in paragraph 156 that this is not the case, and it is necessary that careful supervision should be systematically exercised over all estates which are liable to be affected for the worse by the action of the rivers or *choh* (sandy torrents). Government has done its best to prevent litigation between tenants and landlords of the district as will be noticed below, and it is to be hoped that the people of Hoshiárpur will gradually abandon the intense litigious spirit by which they are at present characterised. They are well aware of the ruin to themselves involved in this litigation, and it is to be hoped that experience will, in the end, induce them to avoid it. The people without denying the litigious spirit impute a large part of the blame to the Government: it is a common saying among them that the short term of limitation and the admission of Pleaders in the Courts have ruined the land-holding classes. The Lieutenant-Governor is afraid that there is truth in this complaint, and that the laws and system of legal procedure which we have introduced have been too much above the comprehension of the population and were bound to stimulate much useless litigation. Whether a remedy can be now applied by establishing Rural Courts of Arbitrators and Conciliators is a question which is under deliberation.

In Hoshiárpur, the population numbers about 900,000 souls. Eight-hundred-and-fifteen persons of a population, mainly agricultural, to every square mile of cultivation, that is to say. About one-third of the people profess Islam. The principal non-Mahomedan tribes are Játs, Rájputs Brâhmans, Gájars, Pathans and Mahtons. "As usual," Játs and Mahtons prove good farmers, Brâhmans and Rájputs indifferent ones, Pathans bad ones. Gájars thrive when they get opportunity to combine cattle-stealing with agriculture. It is noteworthy that, in the Hoshiárpur district, Rájputs in many cases do their own ploughing without losing caste. The moral of which enfranchisement from cant, seems to be, that famines are cogent scholastic agencies. To the 815 per square mile in Hoshiárpur dread of famine is an ever-present remembrancer that hard work is for them the most efficacious of prayers.

Independently of a pressure of population that renders the district as congested and liable to scarcities as Behar, any advantages derivable from rainfall and irrigation must be snatched at precisely the right moment; no other will do. Delays and dubitations are fatal. Wherefore:—

Jan Jat di pai biai,
Kisi nû phuphi, kisi nû tai,
Jan Jat de pake site,
Saki bahin nu denda dhake.

When it is sowing time with a Jat (*i.e.*, when help is required),
So and so is his father's sister, so and so his sister-in-law.

When the Jat's crop is ripe,
Even his own sister is denied.

As to Biddy's "points"—the Hoshiarpurean worships horse-flesh as devoutly as Captain Hayes—it is written:—

Mithi, nithi, patri,
Kamchari, kamros,
Narin eh badiarian,
Turian echo dosh.

To be a slow goer, one that looks down, and is thin,
One that eats little and is seldom angry,
These are signs of good breeding in women,
And are bad signs in horses.

The proverbial philosophy of the Punjab is no respecter of persons, dignities, etc., *per se.* they must be backed up by deeds before they are reckoned worshipful, *e.g.*,—

Put janan Khatrani.
Vich vich Bahmanian.

The Khatri woman brings forth (wise) sons,
The Brahmin woman only sometimes,
(To show the superiority of Khatri women,)

so say the Khatri. Here is another side of the shield :—

Char chor, te chare thag,
 Char suniar, te chare thathiar,
 Char chauke sola,
 Sola dune batrih,
 Ek mara jia Khatri.

Four thieves and four "thags,"
 Four goldsmiths and four brass-workers,
 Four times four is sixteen,
 Twice sixteen is thirty-two.

One poor creature of a Khatri (is equal to them all in deception).

Popular philosophy amongst Moslems ordains :—

Je Gazi thiwen Rad thin,
 Tan hath pakar talwar,
 Pahla Rangar marke,
 Pichon Kafar mar.

If you wish to be considered a Ghazi by God,
 Then take a sword in your hand,
 First kill a Rangar (Rajput),
 After that an infidel.

There is Philistinism even in the far Punjab in short. Here is further instance of proverbial recognition of the fact :—

Shah bina pat nahin,
 Guru bina gat nahin.

There is no respectability to a man who has not a banker,
 Nor heaven for one who has not a *guru* (or priest).



CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

A History of Civilization in Ancient India, based on Sanscrit Literature. By Romesh Chunder Dutt, of the Bengal Civil Service; and of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law; Author of Bengali Translation of the Rig Veda Sanhita and other Works. In three Volumes. Vol. III.—Buddhist and Pauranik Ages. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. London: Trübner and Co. 1890.

VOLUME III completes Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt's *History of Civilization in Ancient India*, and we, being much of Carlyle's opinion about the importance of a great index, are glad to find it furnished with a full one. Sir Monier Williams said of a previous volume of this history, that, though the author professed to write for the general reader only, and without any intention of making new advances, yet it would be no waste of time even for the special scholar to go over its pages. In this we quite agree, but it is necessary to bear in mind that enthusiasm has been a not inconsiderable factor in the genesis and treatment of Mr. Dutt's picture. Like the Roman presentments of Janus, Mr. Dutt's enthusiasm wears two aspects, of which one, patriotically minded, makes for peace with the old world order and traditions, and the other, inclining towards western ideals of culture and progress, looks askance on the childish superstitions and fairy tales of the world's youth. Mr. Dutt being an enthusiastic artist in black, his blacks are very black indeed, his whites dazzling in their immaculate sheen. If malcontents ask whether this sort of treatment of his subject is history, the proper answer (though it shirks the question) would be that it is better than the Pinnock-Goldsmith style. We do not believe that absolutely impartial, quite colourless history has ever yet been written. Unconsciously, in spite of, or because of conscientiousness, education, mental and moral proclivities, *will* have a finger in the historical pie—because the historian is after all a man. *Cuculus non facit monachum.*

Mr. Dutt's third volume treats of the Buddhist and Pauranik ages, and opens with a chapter on Asoka and his Edicts. For both, the admiration expressed is unbounded. And yet, judged out of his own mouth, on the evidence of his own edicts, it is evident enough that Asoka must have been one

of the most aggressively conceited men ever born to a high position, an unmitigated prig, a Royal Paul Pry and busybody of the first water. He reminds us strongly, by the way, of the Emperor William of Germany. Asoka's rock-edicts, cave-edicts, pillar-edicts, all and each, commence with the proclamation that they have been engraved by order of King Pyadasi, "beloved of the Gods." No. 1 prohibits feasting in private houses, and, unctuously self-exculpatory, says : "At the time when this edict is engraved, three animals only are killed for the (royal) table, two peafowls and a gazelle, and the gazelle not regularly. Even these three animals will not be killed in future." Edict No. 4, equally redolent of the hot-gospelling zeal of a new convert to Buddhism, informs the world at-large that it is the intention of "King Pyadasi, 'beloved of the Gods,' to cause the practice of religion to prevail *in saecula saeculorum*. Edict No. 5 lithographs a truism for the sake of a tag of self-praise : "Thus spake King Pyadasi, 'beloved of the Gods,' the practice of virtue is difficult, and those who practise virtue perform what is difficult. I have myself accomplished many virtuous acts." In another edict this indefatigable blower of his own trumpet glorifies himself, at the expense of the reputations of his predecessors, as being a glutton at routine office work ; in another, he notifies the public that, again better than his predecessors who "went out for pastimes," he, King Pyadasi, "beloved of the Gods," has abjured hunting and pastimes, and gives gifts to Brâhmans and Siâmans instead. "It is thus that King Pyadasi 'beloved of the Gods' enjoys the pleasure derived from his virtuous acts" Doubtless Asoka was a bright and shining lamp of civilization in his day and generation. How does Mr. Dutt account for his very name even being popularly forgotten in after generations, till European scholars in the 19th century, notably Mr. James Prinsep, deciphered his lithographings, and rescued his memory from oblivion ? How account for the memory of a foreign invader, like Alexander of Macedon, enduring in popular tradition without any adventitious mnemonic aids from pillars or edicts while that of Asoka, who seems to have devoted the best part of his energies to efforts to perpetuate his name, was lost. Brahman jealousy of Buddhism, and triumph over it, were, doubtless, factors tending to further the effacement. But without other and more cogent predispositions thereto in the body politic, it could not have come about.

Of a certain value, as evidence to fact and character tendered by independent witnesses, is the testimony derived from the journals of Fa Hian and Houen Tsang, two Chinese travellers in Ancient India. When the latter visited the country, Buddhism

was on the wane. In the region around Cabul, where Fa Hian had, two centuries before, left a popular and flourishing cult, Houen Tsang (in the early part of the 6th century A. D.) found the Sanghârâmas waste and desolate.

At Sinhapara, a State subject to Kashmir, he met Jaina sects called Svetambaras and Digambaras. "The laws of their founder are mostly filched from the principles of the book of Buddha. . . The figure of their sacred master (Mâhâvira) they stealthily class with that of Tathâgata (Buddha); it differs only in point of clothing; the points of beauty are absolutely the same." There is no doubt, says Mr. Dutt, that Houen Tsang regarded the Jainas as separatists from Buddhism. In his day Kashmir was full of the fame of King Kanishka, to whom tributary kings in China had sent hostages.

When the people saw him, they pointed with their fingers, and said to one another: "This man is a native of the country of our former ruler." He was staying in the convent at Nâlanda, with the Rajah of Kamarupa, when Sîlâditya the Second, King of Kânyakubja, an old world centre of Hindu civilization while Magadha was yet a land of "aboriginal barbarians," summoned him to his capital, and convoked there a religious assembly:—

Then the kings of the twenty countries, who had received instructions from Sîlâditya, assembled with the Srâmans and Brâhmans, the most distinguished of their country, with magistrates and soldiers. It was indeed a religious imperial assemblage, and Sîlâditya constructed, on the west of the Ganges, a great Sanghârâma, and to the east of it a tower 100 ft. high, and between them he placed a golden life-size statue of Buddha. From the 1st to the 21st of the month,—the second month of spring,—he fed and feasted the Srâmans and Brâhmâns alike. The entire place, from the Sanghârâma to the king's temporary palace, was decorated with pavilions and stations for musicians who poured forth music. A small image of Buddha was led forth on a gorgeously caparisoned elephant, Sîlâditya dressed as Indra marching to the left, and the Raja of Kâmarûpa going to the right, each with an escort of 500 war elephants, while 100 elephants marched in front of the statue. Sîlâditya scattered on every side pearls and various precious substances, with gold and silver flowers. The statue was washed and Sîlâditya carried it on his own shoulders to the western tower and bestowed on it silken garments and precious gems. After a feast, the men of learning were assembled, and there was a learned discussion. In the evening the king retired to his temporary palace.

Buddhism and Brahmanism could join together in the 6th century, it would appear, with as little scandal as Christian worship of God and Mammon in the 19th.

This peep at Sîlâditya's court is chiefly valuable as illustrating the pageantry of feudal supremacy assumed by that monarch over minor potentates; assumed also, we may fairly infer, by other monarchs strong enough to play the rôle of suzerain in Ancient India.

Notwithstanding the fondness of ancient Hindu Kings

for the pomp of Imperialism, Mr. Dutt assures us, in his chapter on Domestic and Social life, that "the laws of conquest were humane, and annexation was not recommended." He would score his point, if he could show that Indian Kings in ancient times abided in practice by the law's recommendations. Here you have in brief the condition of Ancient Civilization in the kingdom of Allahabad, circa 600 A. D. :—"At the confluence of these two rivers there are everyday many hundreds of men who bathe themselves, and die. The people of the country consider that whoever wishes to be born in heaven ought to fast to a grain of rice, and then drown themselves in the waters. There was also a high column in the middle of the river, and people went up this column to gaze on the setting sun until it had gone under the horizon." All the kingdoms which Houen Tsang sentimentally exploited were fertile, highly cultivated, and densely populated, and all the people in them—even the Orissans, although stigmatized as "uncivilized" withal—were fond of learning. Except in Kanodya. But then Buddhism was not much followed in Kanodya ; Hinduism prevailed ; which, of course, accounts for this phenomenal touch of nature. *A propos* of dense population, here is an extract from Houen Tsang's Notes :—"In old days the Kingdom of Kalinga had a very dense population ; their shoulders rubbed one with the other, and the axles of their chariot wheels girded together." A crowded condition of affairs that must have had its practical inconveniences, one would think, physically as well politico-economically. But of even the rudiments of "the dismal science," Ancient Indian civilization seems to have been ingenuously innocent. When Houen Tsang himself visited Kalinga, its palmy days had departed, and new kingdoms in Bengal and Orissa had been created out of their fragments. "Such has always been the history of India. Kingdoms and races have risen in power and civilization, and declined again by turns ; but still the vast confederation of Hindu nations had a political unity, a cohesion in religion, language and civilization, which made India one great country in ancient times." That is a big draft on faith in an unseen world.

Bengal Proper, circa 600 A.D., Bengal, that is, excluding Behar and Orissa, was divided into five kingdoms. Northern Bengal was *Pundra* ; Assam and North-east Bengal formed *Kâmarûpa* ; Eastern Bengal, *Samatata* ; South-west Bengal *Tamralipti* ; Western Bengal *Karna Suvarna*. The Kingdom of Udra, or Orissa, was 14,000 miles in circuit in Houen Tsang's time, and had its capital near the modern Jajpur. The people, though uncivilized and of a yellowish black

complexion, were, however, Buddhists, and of course fond of learning :—

Already Orissa was a great place of pilgrimage, though the temple of Puri had not yet been built. There was a Sanghârâma called Pushpagiri on a great mountain on the south-west frontiers of the country, and it is said a stone Stûpa of this Sanghârâma emitted a strange light. Buddhists from far and near came to this place and presented beautifully-embroidered umbrellas, and placed them under a vase at the top of the cupola and let them stand as needles in the stone. The custom of planting flags prevails in Jagannâtha to the present day.

North-west from Konkan, and across a great forest infested by wild beasts and robbers, was the great country of Mahârâshtra, 1,000 miles in circuit, where the people were honest, but stern and vindictive. Where the robbers infesting this honest neighbourhood came from, we are not told. It is noticeable that this is the only reference made by Houen Tsang to wild beasts and dacoits.—incidents of travel to have been met with frequently in Houen Tsang's time, one would have thought.

In the chapter devoted to Buddhist architecture, Mr. Dutt puts his foot down emphatically on the notion that it was copied from the Greeks. We should have supposed its crude ugliness sufficient refutation of any such notion. And it seems to us supererogatory to insist that "in sculpture, too, the Hindus are not indebted to the Greeks" Squabness appear to be the special characteristic of early Hindu architecture ; and it had affinities for the grotesque.

It was a purely mechanical art, in which intellect had no act or part. Existent remains and traces of the architecture of the Pauranic period have a value for moderns, only because of their crude, unsophisticated fidelity to what the unartistic eye saw in its nakedness, and reproduced as faithfully as it could for temple ornamentation :—

In India the countless temples of gods are sculptured, not only with the images of gods and goddesses, but with a representation of the whole universe, animate and inanimate ; of men and women in their daily occupations, their wars, triumphs, and processions ; of aerial and imaginary beings, Gandharvas and Apsaras and dancing girls ; of horses, snakes, birds, elephants and lions ; of trees and creepers of various kinds ; of all that the sculptor could think of and his art could depict.

Fergusson is admittedly Mr. Dutt's æsthetic guide and preceptor,—as good a one as could be got, possibly. He is held responsible for statement that the student who has paid a visit to the town of Bhuvanesvara in Orissa knows more of Hindu temple architecture in its purity than pages of description are likely to teach him, which is likely enough.

The great temple is built of stone, and every individual stone has a pattern carved on it ; "and this wonderful carving is estimated to have cost three times as much as the erection of the building itself." There you have the keynote of Hindu

architectural design—mosaic work on a monumental scale, and expensive enough for the man who finds the money to build on the cost a reputation for wealth, piety, and hope of perpetual fame. As Fergusson puts it:—

“ Most people would be of opinion that a building four times as large would produce a greater and more imposing effect ; but this is not the way a Hindu ever looked at the matter. Infinite labour bestowed on every detail was the mode in which he thought he could render his Temple most worthy of the Deity ; and whether he was right or wrong, the effect of the whole is certainly marvellously beautiful. . . . The sculpture is of a very high order and great beauty of design.” A woodcut of the Black Pagoda of Hanarek restored, the exterior of which “ is carved with infinite beauty and variety,” is to be found on page 348 of Mr. Dutt’s book. It happily illustrates Mr. Dutt’s ideal of beauty and variety in art ; especially the variety.

Indian custom in the matter of dress, the fashion of it, the material of it, the fringes to it, is supposed to have remained immutable amongst Hindus from the most ancient times to the middle of the 19th century. In Ancient India well-to-do people (and all the people are represented as well-to-do) used *Kauseya* (silk spun by the wild silk-worms), as material for their garments—in warm weather that is— ; in cold, *Kambala*, (cloth wove from fine goat’s hair). The plutocracy of the period preferred *holali* (stuff made from the fine hair of wild animals) highly priced, and therefore greatly esteemed. India is conservative in all things: idiosyncracies of sartorial sentiment amongst others. As far back as the seventh century, A.D. Houen Tsang was impressed with the studious personal cleanliness of the people: he satisfied himself that no remissness in this matter was tolerated, as also that cleanliness was more observable in the personal habits of the people than in their towns—a kindly dispensation of providence, by virtue of which sanitary reform was a triumph reserved for latter-day local self-Government Boards. Notwithstanding the peaceful dispositions of Buddhist and Pauranic kings, and the non-invention of dacoity in Ancient India, “ Towns were generally walled, and had gates.” . . . “ The town walls were mostly built of bricks and tiles, and the towers of wood and bamboo, architecture in stone being extremely rare, except for the religious edifice and excavations.” The streets and lanes are referred to as tortuous, the thoroughfares dirty. Stalls were arranged on both sides of the road, “ with appropriate signs,” Mr. Dutt thinks. Butchers, fishermen, dancers, executioners—a curiously suggestive conjunction—had their abodes outside the city. This was in the seventh century,

A.D. In a chapter specially devoted to early Pauranic civilization, from the sixth to the ninth centuries, Mr. Dutt writes:—"In the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* (Chapter IX) we learn that the Princess Mrigāvati attained wonderful skill in dancing, singing, and other accomplishments before she was given in marriage. Numerous such passages are to be found in classical literature."

It was not probably as dancers, but as courtesans, that nautch girls were, with scavengers, sent to live outside the town pale. On the other hand, it is a mistake to suppose that Indian dancing women have at any time achieved the social position held by some of the Greek *hetairæ*—by virtue of their culture and wit; not by means of twinkling feet and voluptuous attitudes.

"Houen Tsang gives an account of education in India which is interesting. He speaks of five *Vidyās* or branches of learning viz., *Sabdavidyā*, or the science of words, *Silpasthānavidyā*, treating of the arts, *Chikitsāvidyā*, or medicine, *Hetuvidyā*, or philosophy, and *Adhyātmavidyā*, of the mysteries of religion. Houen Tsang also speaks of four *Vedas* recognized in his time; but Manu recognizes only three, and not the *Atharva Veda* (III, 145; IV, 123; XI, 260 to 265; XII, 112. &c), Houen Tsang further informs us that men completed their education at 30, rewarded and thanked their teacher and returned to their worldly duties."

Mr Dutt is bitter and sarcastic on the subject of caste, and Brāhman assumptions of prerogative in connection therewith. There is room for bitterness, room for sarcasm, and, may be, he does well to be angry. But, failing nationality and racial coherencies, what so catholic a controlling agency, making for the maintenance of order, and the greatest good of the greatest number; what other agency could have been devised that would have been half as much in accord with the bent and sympathies of oriental minds? The dogma that multiplication of inferior castes arose from illicit amours between the men and women of those fundamentally established, is denounced as a childish myth, and Manu is scoffed at for adopting it. Anent the *Vaisya* caste it is written:—

Again, when we survey the modern Hindu caste, we do not in many provinces of India find any trace of the ancient *Vaisya* caste, which formed the mass of the nation in the days of Manu. Where are those *Vaisyas* gone? When and how did they disappear from most provinces of India? And shall we, consistently with the myth spoken of before, believe that the *Vaisyas* were so apt to marry women of other castes, and so little fond of their own women, that they continually formed alliances with other castes, until they simply married themselves out of their caste-existence?

The student of Indian history is spared the humiliation of accepting such nursery tales! Common sense will suggest to him that the *Vaisyas* of Manu have now been disunited into new modern castes according to

the professions they follow. Manu knew of goldsmiths and blacksmiths and physicians, and speaks of them as we have seen before, but does not reckon them as separate castes. *They were not castes but professions in Manu's time.* Scribes and physicians and artisans, though looked down upon by Manu, still belonged to the common undivided *Vaiysa caste*. Scribes and physicians and artisans were still entitled in Manu's time to the privileges of the ancient Aryans, to acquire religious knowledge, to perform religious rites, and to wear the sacrificial thread. However much, then, we may deplore the results of the caste-system, it is important to remember that even in the centuries immediately subsequent to the Christian era, the system had not reached its worst stage, sacred learning had not yet become the monopoly of priests, and honest citizens, who gained a livelihood as scribes, physicians, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, weavers, potters &c., were still *Vaisyas*, still united as one caste, and still entitled to all the literary and religious heritage of Aryans.

Those interested in the origin and developments of the caste system should read the chapter on social manners in its entirety, and, in connection with it, the chapter on religion and religious literature, from which we take a few pertinent extracts :—

“The worship of images in temples was unknown to the Hindus before the Buddhist Revolution, but seems to have come into fashion when Buddhism was the prevailing religion.”

“The Trinity as Creator, Preserver and Destroyer, was unknown to Manu in the first century before or after Christ; but the idea had become a national property in the time of Kâlidâsa in the 6th century A.D.”

“It is noteworthy that among the multiplicity of gods mentioned in the Dharma Sastras one rarely finds mention of Krishna.”

“The doctrine of transmigration is as firmly engrained in the Hindu mind as the doctrine of resurrection is in the Christian mind, and the lowest Hindu sees a possible relation or kinsman in a new-born babe, or even in a bird or animal.”

“Hinduism has been and is a religion regulating life more than defining intellectual beliefs.”

Remacu tetigisti. That is the operative side; the side that has had most real bearing on the history of Indian civilizations. Their historian's readings of and glosses on ancient Hindu law and canon concerning child marriages, widow re-marriages, intermarriages between different tribes—all the burning questions affected by social reformers, missionaries, lay iconoclasts, sensationalists at large—lead to the conclusion that Hindus, if they wish to find authority in their orthodox books for any ordinance, or breach or mitigation of ordinance, which they may affect, may do so just as readily as Christians of different churches or sects can point to texts in the Bible supporting their peculiar views. As our author succinctly puts the case, “The Institutes of Manu are somewhat composite in character.” He holds distinctly that a candid reader, carefully perusing all the chapters and verses in the Code bearing on the position of women, will, *in spite of some objectionable passages*, certainly form a

high idea of the status of women, and of the Hindu civilization and manners of Manu's time.

Pleasing pictures of domestic life are preserved to us in the Dharma Sâstras, shewing that Hindus have ever appreciated and cultivated domestic virtues through all times and through all vicissitudes of their national fortunes. As we read Vyâsa's account of the duties of a wife as narrated in his second chapter, we can almost fancy it is the picture of a dutious and gentle Hindu wife of modern times, trying to discharge her household duties, and seeking to please all of her husband's family. She will rise before her lord at early dawn, clean the house, sweep and clean the room of worship, clean all the utensils and implements of religious worship and put them in order, wash all the utensils of cooking and wipe the hearth, and having thus performed all the preliminary work of the day, will come and do obeisance to her father-in-law, mother-in-law, and others.

Having then cooked the food, she will feed the children and then her husband, and will then take her meals with the permission of her lord. In the evening her work commences again, and after her husband has gone to bed and fallen asleep, she will lay herself beside him. She is enjoined to abstain from quarrel and avoid harsh language ; to avoid extravagance, anger, duplicity, pride, scepticism, &c. ; and she is instructed to serve her husband to the best of her ability. Those who know the domestic life of modern Hindus are aware that these injunctions have not been given to Hindu wives in vain, and that in obedience and gentleness and a regard for their husbands, Hindu women will not compare unfavourably with women in any country in the civilized world.

Mr. Dutt's idyll of the pleasures of domestic life in the Pauranik period would be altogether charming, if the reciprocity were not all on one side, as Sir Arthur Helps makes one of his puppets in *Friends in Council* say. The practice of Suttee, by the way, is held to have been unknown in India before Pauranik times, and to have been originally a Scythian custom introduced into Hindustan probably by Scythian invaders in the Buddhist age. The later Dharma Sastras all belaud a custom which was unknown to Manu, or even to Yâjnavalkya.

Yâjnavalkya stands for the embodiment of old school conservatism opposing itself to the march of progress, declaring : "It has been said that twice-born men marry Sudra women. This is not my opinion, since one procreates himself on his wife" Later reactionaries, like Sankha and Vyâsa, prohibited absolutely the marriage of twice-born men with Sûdra women.

The ancient eight forms of marriage were also falling into disuse. We have seen that even in the Rationalistic Period, Vasishtha and A'pastamba refused to recognize two of these forms as marriage, and this feeling became stronger with the lapse of time. Yâjnavalkya (I, 58 to 61) like Manu names all the ancient eight forms of marriage, but distinctly declares that the first four only. *viz.*, the *Brâhma*, the *Daiva*, the *A'sha*, and the *Prâjâpatya* are meritorious and purify ancestors and descendants. Similarly, Vishnu mentions all the eight forms, but adds that the first four only are allowed to Brâhmans and purify ancestors and descendants (XXIV, 18 to 32). Sankha recommends the first four forms for Brâhmans (IV, 3) ; the *Râkshasa* and *Gândharva* forms of marriage are allowed to the warrior-caste alone. Hârita recommends the *Brâhma* rite alone for pious Brâhmans, "although other forms of marriage are also prescribed according to the custom of different castes" (IV, 2 & 3).

In Pauranik times "the king provided gambling houses in towns and appointed guards in such places. (*Yâjnavalkya* II, 205 and 206.) We shall find evidence in the dramatic literature of the period that the courtesans of the age were not the degraded creatures of modern times, but possessed some virtues, and received some consideration from the citizens, as among the ancient Greeks. Liquor shops also existed in towns, but were frequented only by the low. Drinking among respectable men was always considered a great sin." Limited Liability Companies were not unknown. When marketable commodities were sold by a first purchaser immediately after his purchase of them, merchants were enjoined to be satisfied with a profit of ten per cent. on imports, and of five per cent. on home manufactures. The King was to fix the prices of commodities. A District Magistrate, or some one having authority, is often asked to do so now-a-days, in times of scarcity, and so forth. Mr. Dutt says: "These artificial rules seem crude in these days of free trade and free competition; but the modern reader cannot forget that laws still more crude regulated trade in Europe a century or two ago." In criminal trials, ordeals by fire, water, and poison, were still resorted to in the Pauranik age, though they were falling into disuse. All cases were decided by oral evidence. *Yâjnavalkya* lays down the law that murderers and cattle stealers should be impaled. Also that a man's adultery with a woman of lower caste is not punishable. A fine was the punishment imposed for ravishing a Buddhist nun. A Sudra assuming to instruct a person of higher caste was to have scalding oil dropped into his mouth. That strikes us as a decided improvement on the modern law of libel. Mr. Dutt anathemizes Pauranik statute books: but, says "It may safely be asserted that such inhuman laws were never enforced even by Brahman Judges." How many years ago is it since men and women were hanged in England for stealing sixpence by Judges who were not Brahmins? There are those who will tell you that men and women are being hung now-a-days in Ireland "for wearing of the green." Some day, hundreds of years hence, perhaps, some historian of the civilization of modern times may refer to English statute law of the early years of this century, Irish patriotic speeches and songs of to-day, as proof of the barbarity of our criminal procedure. Mr. Dutt's black is too black. Snaffle-bits are of no use with some hobby horses; they should be ridden on a curb. Mr. Dutt's enthusiasm against Brahmanism and vested interests appears to be one of them. Here is his "last word," in this *History of Ancient India* :—

"It may be England's high privilege to restore to an ancient nation a new and healthy life. Under the vivifying influences

of modern civilization, ancient races in Greece and in Italy have begun a new intellectual and national career. The influence of civilization will spread, and the light of progress which has been lighted in Southern Europe will yet spread to the shores of the Ganges. And if the science and learning, the sympathy and example, of modern Europe help us to regain in some measure a national consciousness and life, Europe will have rendered back to modern India that kindly help and brotherly service which India rendered to Europe in ancient days,—in religion, science, and civilization."

Pasteur and Rabies. By Thomas M. Dolan, M.D., F.R.C.S., Ed., Author of "The Nature and Treatment of Hydrophobia" (1878); "Pasteur and Hydrophobia" (1886); "Drink and Pauperism;" etc., etc. London: George Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden, 1890.

PROCLAMATIONS of infallibility are as sure to engender dissent, as the super-excellence of a Stilton cheese to breed maggots. When the bias of conceit inherent in a newly-invented dogma leads to rough riding over susceptibilities, as well as traditions, reaction must, sooner or later, inevitably ensue.

This book of Dr. Dolan's is not only a protest against the claims of "M. Pasteur, Doctor of Chemistry" to medical infallibility; it is also an outward sign and token, in printer's ink, of backward pendulum swing from enthusiasms and credulities that have been imposed upon by pseudo-scientific quackery, and Danton's standard recipe for success—*de l'audace, de l'audace, et encore de l'audace.*

The argument now advanced is that Pasteurism is equally a danger and a mistake. In that contention Dr. Dolan is supported by Professor Peter, "the great French clinician, and successor of Troussseau," who contributes a preface to the book, in which he writes:—

M. Pasteur's treatment must be judged by the statistics of the annual mortality from hydrophobia in France. This has increased instead of having decreased, as was pompously announced by Vulpian and Pasteur. Pasteur's treatment is equally condemned by the analysis of deaths: their clinical analysis showing that a certain number of fatal cases are due to the inoculations, which explains the increased mortality from hydrophobia in man.

"But M. Pasteur not only conveys rabies to man, but transmits charbon to animals (for details and statistics, see a brochure 'The Value of Pasteur's Treatment as a Preventive against Rabies.' Paris: Asselin and Houzeaux, 1887).

"Inoculation as preventive of charbon was practised upon 4,564 sheep at Kachowka, in Southern Russia, of which 3,696 died. M. Bardach, in August 1888, inoculated 4,564, of which only nineteen per cent. survived. This is called protective inoculation! The promoter of this gigantic

holocaust was M. Meczikow, a Doctor of Philosophy, Director of the Bacteriological Institute of Odessa."

Dr. Dolan makes argumentative capital out of Professor Peter's statistics and a host more derived from various European sources. We not incline are to attach too much importance to the array, for statistics can be made to prove anything and everything that a controversialist employing them may desire. He would be a poor literary workman, indeed, who could not make their summing up accord with his own pripossessions. But for all that, Dr. Dolan's book is worth reading, as a timely contribution to the literature of a subject necessarily interesting to us in India: non-medical readers, as well as specialists, may find in it matter for consideration, and haply edification, if they realize that hydrophobia is more of a bugbear than an actual menace.

The Handbook of Games. Enlarged Edition, with Contributions by Dr. William Pole, F.R.S.; Major-General Drayson; Robert F. Green; and "Berkeley." In two Volumes. Vol. I.—Table Games. London: George Bell & Sons, York Street, Covent Garden, 1890.

THIS is a carefully compiled handbook and will prove of service to others besides greenhorn beginners. The pages devoted to billiards form an exhaustive treatise on the science and practice of that seductive game, and are written in a catholic spirit. *e.g.*, the author condemns as empirical the laying down of laws relative to choice of a cue in accordance with the standard of a man's inches and fighting weight, and too precise directions as to the manner in which it ought to be held when playing. When a man finds out for himself the cue that best suits his idiosyncracies, let him buy it, and use it without fear of pedagogic cavil. He is furthermore advised to "always play with the same cue." Again, there's a lot of cant about the science of making a bridge. Making a bridge, says General Drayson, "is a matter of no importance in detail, as long as the bridge is firm and steady." Keep in view the cardinal necessity for steadiness, "and then try to obtain this result as best suits the form of hand." Our Handbook guide thinks, that one of the most common causes of bad play among amateurs, is that "they work the right arm like a pump handle"—result of which is that the point of the cue works up and down in a corresponding manner, and induces—skittles. That is why some men's efforts to execute a "screw" eventuate in a "follow;" and then some men grow into a more or less complacent belief that the faculty for "screw" is by nature denied them.

"As a matter of practice, any person may correct this elementary but serious error by securing the services of a looker-on, who ought to stand opposite the player, and tell him when his action is such as to cause the cue to move up and down. The action should then be altered, until the cue is moved backward and forward, in the same straight line.

"No person can ever reach the position of even a moderately good player who does not stand firmly for his stroke, or who works his cue up and down before making his stroke. Several amateurs whom I have taken in hand and drilled as regards these two items, have in consequence, improved fully fifteen points in one hundred. This elementary drill was given to me when I was a mere child, and I have experienced its value in many a tough match.

"The point of the cue should be chalked after every four or five strokes. To 'miss cue' as it is termed, that is, for the cue to slip off the ball, is almost entirely due to carelessness in not chalking the cue; but such a 'miss' loses many a game with some players."

There is much more of practical advice and example of the sort in this Handbook. Mr. R. F. Green contributes to it a chapter on Chess. And "Berkeley" expounds the mysteries of the machinery of *Rouge Et Noir*, *La Roulette*, E. O., Hazard and Faro.

The United Service Magazine. A Monthly Review of all Questions Affecting National Interests, October 1890.

IT is a military fashion of the day to believe in the efficacy of sham fights as examples and proofs of what must happen in actual war. To followers of the fashion, we commend the following extract from Captain Altham's paper in the October *United Service Magazine* on the "Cavalry Revival":—

We have heard a great deal lately of the young Emperor of Germany's charge at the head of seventy squadrons during last year's manœuvres, and we are told that the umpires ruled it a tactical success. Probably the same umpires would have given a similar decision if Waterloo had been a sham fight, and they had been required to give an opinion as to the success of Napoleon's seventy-seven squadrons let loose against the centre of that thin British line, which had already stood the brunt of many hours' hard fighting with all its demoralizing influence. Yet history tells us of the absolute failure of that gigantic and desperate onslaught of cavalry, and that during this battle one English infantry brigade (Hackett's) succeeded in repulsing no less than eleven cavalry charges.

The Inspector: A Comedy, by Gogol. Translated from the Russian by T. Hart-Davies, Bombay Civil Service. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1890.

THIS is a translation of a characteristically national comedy, which, it would appear from the preface, we ought to have known all about years ago.

It has been a classical work in Russia for fifty years' past, and is said to occupy on the Russian stage a position analogous to that held in England by the ever-green *School for Scandal*. It is popularly pronounced Gogol's masterpiece, and Mr. Hart-Davies tells us that Jubilee performances of it at St. Petersburg and Moscow in 1886 were listened to with an enthusiastic appreciation which plainly showed the conviction of the Russian world that it deserves to rank among those master-pieces which it is the privilege of genius alone to create.

"Yet with all its wit and humour—which caused, according to common tradition, the Emperor Nicholas to laugh till the tears ran down his cheeks at the satire on his administration—'the Rerrzor' is a melancholy play." We should like much to be able to read it in Russian, for even through the necessarily imperfect medium of a translation (imperfect, however well done) it is very evident that the play abounds in humorous situations and unartificial humour.

It is moreover valuable, as throwing light on the sordid corruption, petty tyrannies, and mean scoundrelism of Russian officialdom—forty years ago.

Notes on Grant's Xenophon. By Geo. Maddox, B.A., Professor of Logic and History, Doveton College. Madras, "Irish" Press," No. 163, Popham's Broadway.

THIS little publication ought to be in the hands of every student who has to read "Grant's Xenophon" for the First Examination in Arts of the Calcutta University. The notes given are just such as an Indian student requires. All allusions are explained fully, and every textual difficulty is most carefully elucidated.

Professor Maddox does not have recourse to the superficial method of annotating adopted, all but universally, by so-called Professors of the English Language in native colleges, we mean the habit of giving merely the *meanings of words* and quietly passing over the *explanation of phrases*, the purport of which a student frequently finds he is unable to grasp. To illustrate this, let the reader turn to page 40, and read the note on the phrase "Gothic Sentimentalism." He will notice that each word is first explained and next the signification of the whole phrase given in the clearest language. Or, let the reader turn again to page 86, and read the note on "Utopian excellence" and he will see how the meaning of this too is brought out.

The readers' attention is also drawn to some of the grammatical peculiarities of the English Language, *e.g.*, a capital **e** on the termination "*ing*," on pp. 54-55.

In some instances a question is asked to set the student on thinking, and although we are aware that the utility of this method has been questioned by some, we are of opinion that much good might be derived from it, if used judiciously.

The price of the publication is a rupee only, and any student investing that amount in the purchase of these notes will have no cause to repent of it.

The Indian Medical Service. A Guide for intending candidates for Commissions and for the Junior Officers of the Service. By Wm. Wilfrid Webb, M.B., Surgeon, Bengal Army ; Late Agency Surgeon at the Court of Bikanir ; Superintendent of Dispensaries, Jails and Vaccination in the Bikanir State ; and for some time Guardian to H. H. the Maharajah. London : W. Thacker & Co., 87, Newgate Street. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink & Co. Bombay : Thacker and Company, Limited. 1890.

As raison d'être for this comprehensive and carefully-put-together "Guide," Dr. Webb tells us in his preface that, years ago, when he had just completed his University curriculum, and desired trustworthy information about the Indian Medical Service, he was quite unable to obtain it. To young men of to-day in a similar predicament his handy little book will prove acceptable. Besides a clear exposition of all the chances open to average ability in an Indian Medical Service career, possible "political" and other plums, and particulars as to leave rules, travelling allowances, appointments in England for retired Officers, &c. &c., are duly set forth.

The Indian Magazine. October 1890. Issued by the National Indian Association in Aid of Social Progress and Education in India. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, E.C.

In a paper on "Ordeals, Past and Present" in the October number of the *Indian Magazine*, Mr. G. F. Sheppard writes :—

Goldsmiths and others in India, swearing by "Mata"—a goddess—get out of their oath by saying that they meant to swear by some stout man (*mato*) ; and boys fancy that if they swear a false oath with the tongue between their front teeth, it is no matter. The same idea is in the English schoolboys' "over the left."

This wanton distortion of a schoolboy slang conspicuous for candour, if for anything, a fair sample of the pernicious teachings to which *The Indian Magazine* appears to have now-a-days devoted its ministrations to young India.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The Report on the Progress and Condition of the Government Botanical Gardens, Saharanpore and Mussoorie. For the year ending 31st March 1890.

Annual Report of Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies. 1889

Report on the Legal Affairs of the Bengal Government. For the year 1889-90.

Notes on the Administration of the Stamp Department of the Punjab and its Dependencies. For the year 1889-90.

Review of the Trade of India in 1889-90.

Maps of the Hoshiarpore District Appendix V. Revised Settlement. 1879 84

Annual Report of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta. For the year 1889-90.

Trade and Navigation Accounts of British India. For the month of August 1890 and the five months, 1st April to 31st August 1890.

Accounts of the External Land Trade of British India. For the three months April to June 1890.

Annual Report on Grass Operations in the Commissariat, Western Circle (Punjab and Beluchistan). For 1889-90.

Report of the Court of Wards, North Western Provinces. For the Revenue year 1888-89, ending the 30th September 1890.

Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India with Foreign Countries, and of the Coasting Trade of the Several Presidencies and Provinces. For the year ending 31st March 1890.

Trade and Navigation Accounts of British India. For the month of September 1890, and the six months, 1st April to 30th September 1890.

First Forecast of Bhadoi Crops in Bengal.

Annual Report on Vaccination in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. For the year 1889-90.

Report by the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency. For the year 1889-90.

First Triennial Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal on the Working of the Vaccination Department in Bengal. During the three years 1887-88, 1888-89 and 1889-90.

Accounts of the External Land Trade of British India. For the four months April to July 1890.

Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India. For the year ending 31st March 1890.

Return of the Rail-borne Trade of Bengal. For the quarter ending the 31st March 1890.

Report of the Honorary Committee for the Management of the Zoological Gardens. For the year 1889-90.